

**INSIDE: HEART ATTACKS—
A BREAKTHROUGH**

Maclean's

NOVEMBER 17, 1986

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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CONFERENCES

Blunders and blame

We want you to know that we consider the Oct. 27 cover of *Maclean's* to be a blunder, much as *Rex* Majesty the Queen. The headline "A royal blunder in Ottawa" superimposed upon a beautiful picture of Her Majesty is ridiculous, given that she had nothing whatever to do with the blunder. It was Philip's blunder, in Philip's hour of embarrassment of it.

—CHARLIE TUCKER,
Cambridge, Ont.

Prince Philip's recent comments are inexcusable. Forget that it was a historic, official state visit. Forget that China spent millions to accommodate and entertain the Queen with unprecedented pomp and extravagance. If an invited guest insulted us or my family behind my back, I would be furious. Really, Prince Philip does not realize how important he can be. Less than a day after his "billy eyes" remark on the news, I overheard some kids tease a little Chinese girl with those same "prissy" words.

—HARRISON CHEN, DND,
Don Mills, Ont.

A choice of numbers

In the article "Abortion on the docket" (*Law*, Oct. 26), you cite a 1983 public opinion poll in which "only 47 per cent" of the respondents opposed abortion in all circumstances. This is a highly misleading way of reporting statistics. The significance of such a figure can be known only when it is related to the other figures in the same poll and/or in the figures in previous polls. In 1981 I picked up some profile literature that



Prince Philip committed suicide

said five per cent of the population took the extreme position of opposing abortion in all circumstances. If that figure were anywhere near correct, then it would appear that two years later this group had more than tripled its support.

DAILY MCGILLIAN
Burlington, Ont.

Another choice

I was surprised to read that *Maclean's* is under fire from Pleased Parenthood, a prochoice group, over her latest hit, "Papa Don't Preach" (*People*, Oct. 6). Is abortion the only choice to be tolerated?

—JOAN CARROLL,
Thunder Bay, Ont.

A healthy addiction

My goodness. Simon Fraser University should wish students addicted not only to "falling in love" but also to "the extreme recreational usage that goes along with it." Your article "Hooked on love and sex" (*Behaviour*, Oct. 30) says that this addiction leaves the victim "either miserable or euphoric." Now I may be mistaken, but something tells me that Chaucer, Shakespeare and Tolstoy let us in on that stuff a long time ago. And Freud would suffice to teach us that "for many people, the problem is simply that one has taken over their lives." The students who rate love and sex before alcohol, nicotine, caffeine and illicit drugs should be set as a healthy example to those others who have not allowed themselves life's full riches.

—BETHAMEN SPARKES,
Victoria

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply exact address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Letters to the Editor, *Maclean's*, Magazine, Attention: Reader Reply, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

DIED: TV executive Stuart Griffiths, 68, who brought incentive programming to the CBC network as well as to private stations and cable; of a heart attack, in Ottawa (page 74)

DIED: Veteran journalist Kenneth MacTaggart, 84, who was honored many times for his newspaper and magazine stories on subjects that ranged from the creation of Israel to the tragedy of the Holocaust, of cancer, in Markdale, Ont. In 1950 MacTaggart, among a tip, helped organize an expedition to the rim of the Arctic that led to the discovery of the 1,640-foot-deep Ungava icefield center and won him a National Newspaper Award in 1968

DIED: Steve Fournier Sr., 55, whose son ran across Canada as one leg to raise money for cancer research, of lung cancer, in Vernon, B.C. Steve Fournier Jr., 21, who lost his left leg to cancer when he was 12, interrupted his cancer fund-raising run across Britain last week to be with his father. The older Fournier had given up smoking in a widely publicized move, but as late as three weeks ago, while he was hooked up to an oxygen tube and unable to move from his hospital bed, he continued that he would still love to have a cigarette.

DIED: Singer Bobby Nunn, 61, founder of the 1960s pop group The Coasters, of a heart attack, in Los Angeles. The group's hits included "Pony Time," "Yakety Yak," "Love Potion No. 9" and "Charlie Brown," in which Nunn boomed the plaintive refrain "Why is everybody always picking on me?"

DIED: Biologist and epidemiologist Dr. E. Cuyler Hammond, 74, who in the 1950s pioneered the research linking cigarette smoking to lung cancer and heart disease, of cancer of the lymph system, in New York City

BORN: To Soviet dissident Annsly Shcharansky, 38, who was freed in a prisoner exchange nine months ago after serving nearly nine years in prison and labor camps on espionage charges, and his wife, Avital, 36, a five-pound, eight-ounce girl, in Jerusalem

SENTENCED: Former U.S. navy radio-man and convicted spy John Walker, 40, who as head of a family espionage ring received almost \$14 million from the Soviet Union for selling classified information, to life imprisonment, by U.S. Federal District Court Judge Alexander Harvey, in Baltimore. Walker's son Michael was given a 25-year sentence. His brother Arthur, 55, is currently serving a life term for espionage

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Salesman for relief

His suit has the sort of cut that justifies the adjective *modest*. He looks occasionally wilt in grey woolly business, exposing an expanse of pale white. A stranger could be forgiven for failing to suspect that behind the deceptively mild-mannered insurance salesman's facade lurks a multibillionaire intimate of world leaders. As Christopher Brown, first secretary for the Canadian delegation to the United Nations, has observed, "Maurice Strong is the kind of man you would pass on the street and not notice. He doesn't look the part." But for the past 22 months, as executive co-ordinator for the United Nations Office for Emergency Operations in Africa, Strong, a former head of Petrol-Canada, has played a part that has been both ordinary and is of heroic proportions. Indeed, the man with the rumpled socks has acted as charismaphor and fixer in the \$4.3-billion global relief effort that is credited with saving millions of lives as the drought-ravaged continent.

From a small, stark office on the

8th floor of New York City's UN Plaza, Strong directed the drizzling traffic of aid and volunteer teams pouring into Africa from 35 countries, 67 non-governmental organizations and half a dozen other areas of the UN. His only support was a staff of 25, borrowed

Strong hurtled himself between African and other world capitals, coaxing, cajoling and moving the roadblocks

from other UN agencies. Although the African crisis is far from over—in the vacant eyes of emaciated Sudanese infants in newspapers still testify—the massive global effort has been hailed as one of the UN's rare success stories, credited with saving 35 million lives. Said Canadian ambassador to the UN Stephen Lewis: "It is the one thing in my history at the UN that all nations

have agreed has been a success, and that is saving something."

In fact, one of the best testimonials to his triumph was the closing on Oct. 31 of the Office for Emergency Operations in Africa—just as Strong had planned. The office's functions, will now be integrated into other existing UN agencies. "Our success could only be measured by whether we could get ourselves out of business," Strong said. With an energy undiminished by his 58-year battle with diabetes, and a personal address book containing contacts at the top levels of government around the globe, Strong accomplished that goal by hurtling himself between African and other world capitals, coaxing and cajoling, moving political and physical roadblocks. "Whenever there was a critical moment," said Lewis, "Maurice would appear in the country and magnificently the bottleneck would disappear. The guy has a network of international connections which is quite astounding."

On Strong's first trip to the Sudan in 1985, he was shocked to find 100,000 drought victims jammed in displacement around an oasis at Wad Kowli, where the water supply was due to run out within days. He personally flew to Khartoum and pleaded with then-President Gaafar Nimeiry—who had been warning such a move—to open other

ports for the refugees. And in 1985, when millions of tons of food and aid stranded on Ethiopian docks because the army had commandeered all the country's trucks for its war against the rebels in the northern province of Eritrea, Strong flew into Addis Ababa for an audience with Ethiopian leader Col. Haile Mengistu. The next morning, according to UN officials, a convoy of trucks appeared at the docks, ready for loading.

According to those who worked with him, Strong also used his considerable persuasive powers when Ethiopia's forced relocation of thousands of prisoners last summer provoked an international outcry over alleged human rights violations. He personally convinced Mengistu to suspend the operation in a compromise that appeased the U.S. state department and saved the Ethiopian relief effort from collapse. It is a negotiation he declines to discuss publicly except to say: "Whatever you may think of Mengistu, he is an able guy. And he has kept his word."

To many observers, Strong's entire 17-year life seemed designed to accept his nomination for his latest UN job. The eldest

of four children born to an unemployed station agent in a Canadian Pacific whistle-stop named Oak Lake, Man., he grew up moving from shanty to shanty as the Depression gripped the Prairies. Said a longtime friend, "Maurice has an affinity for the Third World because he basically came out of it himself." Those years also gave him a distaste for extravagance—he

insists on travelling economy-class—and a personal credo of public service. Indeed, Strong's entire career has been spent shuttling between government posts and the world of corporate deal-making. That straddling of the public and private sectors gave him the credentials that proved invaluable for the African famine crisis.

As a 25-year-old who had already made his first fortune dealing in prospecting and mining stocks, Strong turned his back on the world of finance to spend two years travelling in East Africa. That experience gave him an affection for the continent and a knowledge of South Africa. At 34, he was already a millionaire and president of Montreal's Power Corp. of Canada Ltd.—a stint that, as a director of Power Corp.'s subsidiary Canada Steamship Lines, gave him firsthand knowledge of the transportation industry, which later proved invaluable to getting food supplies through to Africa's starving. As the man who in 1986 was asked by then-prime minister Lester Pearson to reorganize Ottawa's external aid programs into the present-day Canadian International Development



Strong, directing the traffic of aid into Africa

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Agency, Strong also knew the intricacies and sometimes interwoven politics of the foreign-aid world. And having landed a job at the fledgling United Nations as an interpreting teenager in 1967—it was a glorified guard's post—he brought a lifelong fascination with the UN to his future work. That dedication has brought him the role of under-secretary general four times in his career.

In fact, his most celebrated tenure at the UN was in 1972, when he was credited with pulling ecological crises on the map by engaging the UN

Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. The *New Yorker* magazine then hailed his efforts with a laudatory profile that said, "The survival of civilization in something like its present form might depend significantly on the efforts of a single man." Indeed, Strong has noted that he is known as an environmentalist everywhere in the world, but Canada, where, he complains, newspapers identify him as "former Liberal candidate"—a reference to his abortive attempt to win a Toronto seat in the 1979 federal election. At the time, he says, he realized

he was not cut out to be a politician when he found himself leading off voters' concerns over pollution, while urging them to take a stand on foreign aid and the environment. But Strong? "I found myself telling them, 'Look, you don't have any problems!'" Still, it was his deftness and experience as a deal-maker that may have given Strong the real edge in the African relief effort—as well as the fact that he was not an insecure career bureaucrat. "People who leave their careers at stake are not willing to take chances," he said, "and this was an operation where you have to take a lot of chances." But it was also Strong's business success that brought him the most controversy in Canada. For one thing, severe critics accused him of profiting from his 1976-1978 tenure as the first chairman of the Crown energy corporation, Petro-Canada, using it to amass a personal fortune in oil and gas. He refused that charge as a "barn map," pointing out that his oil and gas interests were all in the United States, where Petro-Canada did no business. Indeed, he said that his varied experience, which had won him worldwide accolades, had given him "the worst of both worlds" in Canada. Said Strong: "The private sector thinks you are an oddball or a socialist, and in the rest of the community you are suspect because you are a businessman."

Although he will continue as UN under-secretary general until the end of the year, Strong is now restraining his private business interests, including his 100,000-acre ranch in Colorado. Many UN officials expressed shock that he did not attempt to stay on. Said Strong: "I have no intention of simply trying to find a comfortable chair at the UN. All my life I have come in when there was something challenging and useful to do, done it and got out. But Strong insists that he will continue his involvement in the effort to rebuild Africa.

At the same time, he makes no secret of his disappointment with the UN's special session on Africa last May. At the session—called to put into place the five-year plan that African nations had hoped dealt for their own long-term economic recovery—Western governments failed to commit themselves to the funding required. Strong expresses concern that that failure could ultimately sabotage what he calls "one of the great humanitarian success stories of all time." Added Strong: "There was a fundamental breakdown in Africa. If they do not find those resources, it will demonstrate that our response was just a short-term emotional bungee."

—MARK McDONALD in Washington

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CLOSE-UP

A gossip's progress

His working day begins at 7:45 a.m. with a wake-up call from Montreal radio station CPM at 96.3. By shortly after 8:45, Thomas Schramm, 35, general columnist for the Montreal *Gazette*, will have broadcast his daily two-minute report of reviews and information over a special broadcast line hooked up to his Montreal apartment. Then, after a breakfast meeting—usually with someone involved with the local entertainment business—Schramm sits down to the telephone, collecting the trifling details that are the stock of his trade. With contacts that range from teenage chambermaids to society matrons, Schramm is adept at searching everything from the coat and contents of a rock star's room-service order to counting descriptions of Miss Maudsley's Sherbrooke Street West shopping expeditions. Said Greg Stewart, vice-president of CPM, where Schramm has been appearing for almost seven years: "He is a true professional and a one-of-a-kind person who is ticked-made for Montreal."

In Montreal, Schramm's ultimate accolade may be that he is known to both contacts and readers as simply "Tommy." A self-described "professional gossip," he arrived in Canada with his parents from Budapest when he was six. He wrote his first newspaper column while still in Montreal's Northmount High School, graduated in journalism from Carleton University in 1974 and has been gossiping for a living for 10 years. Indeed, his 40-year-old Gazette column is now such a fixture that much of his information is volunteered to him—sometimes by people he has never met.

By early afternoon Tuesday through Saturday, Schramm delivers to the *Gazette* 1,000 words detailing the not-always-private activities of the city's social set. At about 5 p.m. he attends the first of an average of three social events he visits nightly. Declined Schramm: "What really matters is being there—wherever there may be. I don't ever miss from a bar opening or a movie preview to a private cocktail party. Added the columnist: "The only thing worse than going to everything is not going—and feeling you missed out on something."

—ANTHONY WILSON/SMITH in Montreal

FOLLOW-UP

Carling's troubled brew

The Equinox is typical of most university campus pubs across Canada. Relaxed conversation often flows into animated debate among the University of Ottawa students who visit the 200-seat student-run lounge. But recently the Equinox itself became the centre of heated controversy when the university's student federation refused a spring decision to ban from the pub products made by Carling O'Keefe of Canada Breweries Ltd.—including the popular Caribrew, Miller and Foster's beer. The boycott, it is felt by the thrifty, left academic cause was about to begin, followed publication of a student-control-commissioned study into Canadian companies with connections to South Africa. According to student federation president Daniel St. Louis, the report, based in part on government statistics, said that Carling was substantially controlled by South African interests.

The nationality of Carling's ownership has become a complex issue. Carling officials maintain that the firm has been wrongly branded as South Africa-controlled, and they have labelled the student council report "misinformation." According to public corporate statements, Carling is 66.1-per cent owned by Rothmans Inc. (Canada), which in its turn 71.6-per cent owned by British's Rothmans International Inc. But the British firm's stock is 49-per cent held by the Rembrandt Group, a South African company. For its part, Carling says that any Rembrandt control of the Canadian company is in indirect. But St. Louis, chief of Statistics Canada, for one, blames Carling as a South Africa-controlled company.

The student body's decision against Carling is not as isolated one in recent years: other student councils throughout Canada have taken similar measures—including a boycott this fall at the Pilling Station pub at Toronto's Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. The controversy has come at a critical time for the Toronto-based brew giant. According to industry analysts, since 1983 Carling's market share has declined by five per cent to 23 per cent of all beer sold—a drop attributed in part to the company's failure to adapt to new products from competitors. And only last month Frederick McManis, chairman and chief executive officer of Carling for a decade, resigned amid speculation of an impending shakeup within the company.

Carling officials have succeeded in convincing some student governments not to take action against the company. After votes this fall, students at both Ottawa's Carleton University and the University of Toronto law school



Students at the Equinox: a complex issue of ownership.

reversed earlier decisions not to buy from Carling. Company officials claim that the effect of the student boycotts have been negligible—student pub sales represent less than one per cent of beer sales in Canadian restaurants and bars. But they are clearly concerned—and embarrassed. Said John Hay, director of government relations and corporate development: "What else can we do?"

Last month Carling officials met with University of Ottawa student leaders to argue for a reversal of the boycott. They also said that they would try to persuade the federal government to re-evaluate the brewery's corporate ownership and exclusively it by Brewco Canada. Until that happens, St. Louis says that his council will maintain the boycott. But he added: "It is not a witch-hunt against Carling O'Keefe. If there is any information that would warrant changing our position, then we would do so."

—JARED MITCHELL in Toronto

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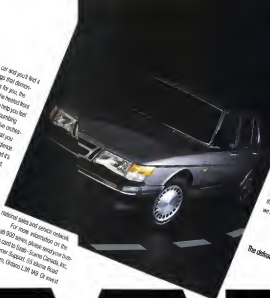
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The defeat of habit by innovation

S A A B



O'Sullivan, status at Deffenbacher: leaving the Commons for the 'House of God'

CLOSE-UP: SEAN O'SULLIVAN

Of God and politics

At 34, Sean O'Sullivan has led a more active and unusual life than most men twice his age. Involved in politics ever since Prime Minister John Deffenbacher strode into the lobby of what was then the Shermans

played a central role in the growing boy's life—one aunt and a great-aunt became archbishops of Kingston, Ont.—as did the dynamics of a close-knit, competitive family. O'Sullivan, a small, sickly



The fourth son of a large Irish-Catholic family of six boys and a girl, O'Sullivan was born on New Year's Day, 1952, in Hamilton. Religious

child, found strength in cultivating a sharp mind and a combative outspokenness which later characterized his career in politics. Infused with a precocious idealism that came, he says, from the spirit of the times, he was ready to

be embraced by the powerful personality of John Deffenbacher. Recalled O'Sullivan: "Deffenbacher had true charisma. I was ripe for finding a hero and he went out of his way to befriend me." That first encounter between the 11-year-old O'Sullivan and the 45-year-old head of government marked the beginning of a remarkable friendship that spanned a decade and a half.

His initial meeting and subsequent contacts with Deffenbacher pulled the adolescent O'Sullivan into politics. At the tender age of 12, he became an honorary member of Hamilton's Young Progressive Conservatives (YPCs), thanks to Deffenbacher's personal intervention. Soon after, at Hamilton's Bishop Ryan High School, he gained a reputation for political wheeking and dealing that brought him into conflict with school authorities—despite his good marks. Part of that may have been Deffenbacher's fault: it was not uncommon for O'Sullivan to be called out of class to take long-distance calls from the Chief in the school office. Liberal Mr. Sheila Copps, O'Sullivan's former classmate, who lost a closely contested election against him for a school-club presidency, recalls that he was a consummate organizer and strategist. Said Copps: "Sean was always in the thick of things. He was funny, quick, and had an ashy wit. In those days he always signed W.S. after his name—for Future Prime Minister."

Indeed, it quickly became clear that O'Sullivan's sights were trained on bigger game than high-school politics. In 1967, at 15, he was the youngest of the 2,550 delegates who attended the Progressive Conservatives' bitter national leadership convention in Toronto. There, he watched his hero's demise as Robert Stanfield, backed by three-party president Dalton Camp, supplanted Deffenbacher as party leader. But O'Sullivan, loyal to Deffenbacher and the former leader's grassroots values, quickly became immersed in the backroom politics that plagued the party, still suffering from divided loyalties to either Stanfield or the deposed Deffenbacher. In 1970, while he was a student at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ont., O'Sullivan was elected president of the Ontario YPCs. Said O'Sullivan: "Politics was my blood sport. I thrived on the give-and-take of battle."

That give-and-take intensified in 1972 when, after an eight-month stint as Deffenbacher's executive assistant, the 20-year-old O'Sullivan was elected to Parliament as the member for

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Hamilton-Wentworth. He describes his role during his five years in the House as that of a "political rebel." But according to Senator Finlay MacDonald, then chief of staff to Robert Stanfield, O'Sullivan was also an extremely conscientious and personable MP who believed that public life was an honorable calling. Said MacDonald: "He was a natural politician."

Still, in the aftermath of the 1974 election, which returned the former minority Liberal government to power with a majority, O'Sullivan says that he began to question his future. "I thought I had everything I wanted," he recalled. "But it was not life-affirming. It did not offer me peace of heart." And he also became disillusioned by what he saw as "the lust caused and endured" in the trenches of politics. During the next few years he met frequently with an old Hamilton friend, Sam Rivest, who was studying for the priesthood at a London, Ont., seminary. Said Rivest: "Sam would find excuses to come down and we would talk." O'Sullivan considered entering a monastery to determine if the priesthood was indeed his proper calling. And when he finally resigned from the House of Commons for what he calls "the House of the Lord," perhaps no one was more deeply affected than O'Sullivan's mentor, Diefenbaker, who

wrote: "I feel a deep sense of personal loss for me who has looked on you with the pride of a father. Parliament will never be the same."

In 1980 the former MP graduated from the Irish College in Rome and was ordained a deacon. A year later, he became a priest. "Politics was great training for the priesthood," O'Sullivan said. "I have never had an engaged thought in my life, but what I do best is use my understanding as how to reach people. I am also blessed with a network of friends who can make it all happen." His communication skills were put to the test in 1985 when Gerald Blumenthal Cardinal Curran appointed him director of vocations—in charge of recruiting for the priesthood—for the archdiocese of Toronto. His first major task was the highly controversial—and successful—recruitment campaign that featured billboards across Toronto with the image of an open-eyed Christ smiled to the cross superimposed against the backdrop of a large, impersonal city. The billboard's message: "There to be a priest like me." More than 1,000 people called to comment on the ads and 500 information packets were sent out.

Then, in April, 1985, shortly after the recruitment campaign had begun, O'Sullivan experienced what he thought was the beginning of a cold.

The next day he sought medical advice. But doctors diagnosed his illness as leukemia—and estimated his chances of surviving for two years as between 16 and 30 per cent. O'Sullivan described the years of sickness and uncertainty that followed as "a terrible roller-coaster ride," but added: "I don't regret the experience. It taught me about mortality and the simple beauty of being alive. It was a time of rebirth."

He has now exceeded the medical prognosis by 1½ years, and since June 1, 1986, has been publisher of *The Catholic Register*, while fulfilling his duties as associate pastor of Transfiguration of Our Lord Church in Weston. Overlaid with what has been a busy tour schedule to promote his book, those activities continue to threaten the delicate state of his health. But O'Sullivan, living on borrowed time, still seems possessed by what his old friend and former Hamilton mayor Jack MacDonald called "total peace and happiness"—a state of grace he never found in politics. Said MacDonald: "Sean lives with the recognition that you have to make today good because there may not be a tomorrow. He is not fighting a battle anymore, he has won."

—MORRIS BUTTS in Hamilton

FOLLOW-UP

Stand-up artist of laughs

Mark Breslin remembers his mother's dismay in 1976 when he told her that he had chosen a career as manager of a comedy club. Ten years later his mother is impressed. Breslin, 34, expects to earn more than \$6 million in revenues this year simply by making people laugh. This fall the owner of the Toronto-based Yakk's Comedy Cabaret club chain enjoyed another mark of success when comedian Joan Rivers asked him to act as comedy agent for her new nightly show, *The Late Show Starring Joan Rivers*. Said Breslin: "I was flabbergasted. We met, we talked, we had fun, and she offered me the job. What can I say? I accepted on the spot."

For the night, energetic Breslin, getting an audience for his brand of comedy has never been a problem. In 1976 he persuaded a downtown community center to provide a performing space for Toronto comics. Those weekly showcases quickly began to draw regular crowds. In 1978 Breslin opened a club of his own in Toronto's trendy Yorkville district. It was at the time



Breslin: Great jokes, avoiding loyalty

Yak Yak's comedy club that he established his reputation for sharp wit. Every night as emcee, Breslin would direct visually crude jokes at both the performers he had hired and the patrons in the front row—and they loved it. Then the night's lineup of comics would follow with their apparently spontaneous—but in fact carefully rehearsed—material.

Breslin now brings a total of 150 new comics each year into his clubs—he has 50 in seven cities, including Calgary and Rochester, N.Y. Past performers at the Toronto club include impressionist Jim Carrey and television actor Homer Mandel. Breslin demands binding loyalty from his comics. Just April, a Breslin employee was charged with assault after Breslin dispatched the man to inform a regular Yak Yak's comic that if he performed that night at a Toronto competitor's club, he risked endangering his status with Yak Yak's. (Charges were later dropped.) But that incident only served to underscore Breslin's reputation as an aggressive comic promoter. And with apartments in Los Angeles and Toronto, a newly released Yak Yak's record, and Rivers's show already a hit, Breslin has clearly just begun to laugh.

—JULIA BENNETT in Toronto

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An intimate appeal

Two Grammy General's Awards and a growing following have and diminished the intimate, personal appeal of *After Mauro's Death* for her young readers. Since her first book was published in 1986, Mauro, 51, has contributed a collection of essays to *Ms. Magazine*. Perhaps her last *Ms.* for 2007 collection, *Lines of Girls and Women*, Mauro, who is a frequent contributor to *The New Yorker* magazine, has lived for 30 years in Clinton, Ore., a small town northwest of Portland. She was awarded the \$15,000 Morian Equal Award, named after the celebrated Canadian writer who died in 1985 of cancer. While in Toronto to participate in the International Festival of Authors—where she met her husband—Mauro spoke with *Ms.* magazine's correspondent Suzanne Simbar.



Madigan's: Why do so many of your stories deal with the prophesies of small town?

Myro I do not know if xenophobia is the right word, because that means hatred of strangers. I do not think there is

a hatred of strangers—more of a kind of pentecost, as there is nowhere when someone's way of behavior is different. It might happen just as easily in an academic community, a distrust of someone whose way of talking or looking at things runs counter to the community. People around the universities make a village, people in the arts in a city make a village—we make villages wherever we go.

Masthead's: On Oct. 29 your most recent collection of short stories, *The Progress of Love*, was awarded the first annual *Marjorie Engel Award*, an honor given only to women. What does receiving the award mean to you?

Memo: It wasn't a great deal. Part of that is my memories of Marian and a sort of pride in getting the first award that has her name on it—but it also means something because it is a sizable award that we are starting in Canada, where there has not been much like this for writers. It is the fact of the award existing that pleases me a lot—and if my getting it is a sort of start to it, then that's great!

MacLennan's: Why is the sword just for women?

Warror: Apparently, any review of the statistics will show that women get the less money in grants in Canada to write than men do. Parity, of course, this is a stretch simply not applying for the money. I mean, I've been writing for the time, if they did get a grant, to work. So this is a case of redoubling that, I suppose. I know myself that I applied for a Canada Council grant long ago, when I really needed it, in the 1960s, and, personally, I think it was a waste of time. I'm a cleaning woman and babysitter. I did not get it, and I heard via the grapevine that—I do not know how that was—part of the reason was that I demanded too much money. I think I should not imagine that men who and they had to go to Manicou or Japan would get grants. Women who need they needed babysitters would not, and this is one thing my own experience. For the time being, I have to do have to take reward for women.

Maclean: It is often said that your readers think of themselves as your close friends. How do you react to that?

Munro: I put that aside sometimes, and it is the most annoying thing. Like most writers, I felt very much an outsider as an adolescent; and even in my later childhood, and when I began writing, I felt that I lived in a very personal world and that the way I saw things was not the way most people saw them at all. I did not write in any expectation of getting a wide public—although I did write in expectation of publication. But I never thought I would be constantly accused of [not] feeling I am drawing all the outsiders together. I have this feeling



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that all the girls who had to be toilet at the high school dance are being brought together and they are telling me they like my books. I guess the surprising thing is that it is amazing how many people were on the outside when we all thought we were alone there.

Maclean's: Most Canadians born in small towns believe you are writing about their home towns.

Munro: But I get letters from Texas and Maine and Georgia that say the same thing. I think there is a kind of shared North American experience. I think we make a mistake when we think of the United States as being different.

Maclean's: Are you pleased with this latest collection of stories?

Munro: No, I always think of the book I am trying to write next—and that it will somehow reflect the faults in the old book. With every new book I seem to have a way of wanting to see things, and then I think that I have been slightly mistaken. I am never satisfied with anything I do, and I would like to abandon everything I have done and just think about the new one.

Maclean's: Is several of your stories you wrote as a gift for people?

Munro: I suppose I do not feel it is a gift—but I sometimes think that things do work out in very strange ways, too strange even to see as fiction. Occasionally I have found myself writing a story about something and then something just like that happens. I hate saying this because I had a very down-to-earth southwestern Ontario Protestant background that does not admit this sort of thing. But sometimes I have sensed so close to what happened in reality by something I was writing. In a way it is too scary to go into.

Maclean's: Do you consider writing a writer's compulsion?

Munro: I do not like to use those words, but there is some reason that makes you write that has nothing to do with money or making a career or becoming famous or any of the ordinary human motivations. The writer is trying to organize experience, organize reality to make sense of it, trying to express another dimension, it is that or else to be there. Perhaps it is a kind of substitute for religious feeling. None of us wants to feel that his life is unimportant. Lives used to be important because God took a big interest in them, and now many of us do not think that this is so or cannot figure out whether there is any significance at all to our lives. But we still feel something, we cannot live without feeling that our lives are important. I think that this is what art is doing for us—I depend on books and other writers to reinforce my feeling of life, my feeling of its importance. I cannot imagine a life without reading—and writing is just taking that one step further.



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KEN: "Would you believe Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo?"



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KEN: If you want healthy looking hair you have to start by getting hair real scalp really clean



2. KEN: When I shower I use Tegrin regularly to do a thorough cleaning job. And this also helps control that itchy scalp that used to annoy me. My scalp feels cleaner



2 WEEKS LATER

3. SUSAN: Well how do you like my hair?
KEN: Like a TV announcer! Using Tegrin Medicated Dandruff Shampoo. I see... Looks clean and healthy



4. SUSAN: Tegrin controls my dandruff and itching. I like the feel with herbal scent.
KEN: Herbal or regular both get your hair and scalp really clean

DATELINE: BRAZIL

A marriage of faiths

By the light of innumerable candles, an estimated one million people crowded onto Rio de Janeiro's Copacabana beach last New Year's Eve. There, worshippers cast flowers into the waves—their offering to Iemanjá, the goddess of the sea. That scene was a testimony to the growing appeal of Umbanda, a Brazilian hybrid of African spirit worship and Amazonian Shamanism, which now claims as many as 30 million adherents in the nation of 130 million. In Brazil—where many Umbanda practitioners are also Catholics—the mystical religion coexists in harmony with the traditional Catholic church, whose members in the South American country number 110 million. And experts say that Umbanda's popularity will continue to grow. São Brother Lorenz Martin, a Canadian-born Franciscan friar in São Paulo, "Brazilians have desires for spiritual expression. They are interested in the different—there is a search for meaning."

African spiritualism arrived in Brazil during the slave trade of the 16th century. Over the years it fused with Catholicism and the culture of indigenous Indians to become Umbanda. Existing as an underground sect until 1946, when Brazil's new constitution guaranteed religious freedom, it has since flourished—and now appears to be making inroads among Brazil's middle class. In fact, before attending 1993 negotiations in Washington, Brazil's \$115-billion foreign debt, Carlos Lamounier, then director of the country's central bank, reportedly tied an Umbanda charm around his wrist to ensure success.

The Catholic church, meanwhile, has not taken a stand against Umbanda. Instead, the clergy has spoken out against foreign cults, among them the Rev. Ron Myers' Mormon Christian Church and evangelical Christian sects, which have also taken root in Brazil. Those sects signal a threat to the established church, because they demand total allegiance from their converts. By contrast, Umbanda, whose practitioners usually maintain their Catholicism, clearly appears to be the lesser evil to the church—as well as an integral part of Brazil's social fabric.

—RICHARD DODGE in São Paulo

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Manitoba's week of anger

For several tense minutes last week 13 prominent Manitobans, including Premier Rowley and Pawley, sat in an office in the Langens Block on Parliament Hill waiting for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. Every member of the delegation knew there would be tough talk when Mulroney appeared. They were accused at Ottawa's decision to award a billion-dollar jet-fighter maintenance contract to General Ltd. of Montreal, rather than to Winnipeg's Bristol Aerospace Ltd., which had submitted a less costly bid. But no one was prepared for the extraordinary confrontation that ensued.

Just after 3:40 p.m., Mulroney swept into the room accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski and Health Minister John Ralston, a Manitoban. He took the offensive immediately. According to one participant, "Mulroney came down and unloaded both barrels straight across the table at Pawley. Mulroney was angry, he was hostile and he was bitter. He was speaking really low. You had to lean into his face to hear him." Pawley "reacted visibly" under the attack.



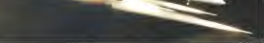
Mulroney unloading both barrels

the only thing we can hang our hat on. If we don't have that, we don't have anything."

Above all, the controversy was another reminder of how regional jealousies can divide the country and pose major problems for the government. In Quebec, those people affected by the decision expressed jubilation. But in

of the regions. And they noted that before his election, he had promised "a new deal" under a Conservative government. Then Mulroney's Western headquarters entered the fray. At one point, Egg told Manitoba Industry Minister Victor Schroeder to "pay attention because the Prime Minister is determining between what he said publicly and what he said privately"—and before the session ended, said an observer, "you had Egg attacking Schroeder, Mulroney attacking Pawley and Mazankowski going after the president of the Manitoba Chamber of Commerce. It was a hostile group."

But Monday's confrontation was only the beginning of a week-long storm over the awarding of the CR-18 contract—and Ottawa's alleged favoritism toward industries in Central Canada. Business leaders complained that Ottawa's decision to choose Canada—despite a government commission's appraisal that found the Bristol bid superior—undermined confidence in the government. Declared British president Anthony Rowden, "The competitive bidding system is



OF-18: a storm over the awarding of the lucrative combat Ottawa's alleged favoritism toward industries in Central Canada

Atlantic Canada and Manitoba there was angry discontent. In Halifax, MacCoody, manager of government affairs for the NSR Group Ltd., which also bid unsuccessfully on the contract, complained that "the decision was not based on merit but on the government's desire to enhance its position in Quebec. We just can't compete politically with Central Canada."

In Winnipeg, Frank Lawson, owner of Meiter Tractors Electroline and a former president of the Manitoba Young Progressives Conservatives, said that he was "as fed up as I can get" that in front of his boy's Portage Avenue store he erected a sign that read, "Mulroney, Take Your Follies, Take Your Contract, Take Your B.S. and Show It."

There were also protests from Western Tories who had supported the party faithfully since the days of John Diefenbaker. Keith Coates, executive director of Manitoba's Conservative party, for one, declared, "It doesn't matter who's in power in Ottawa—but here in the West, we're asking it as that type of disillusionment you are hearing." Some Manitoba Conservatives were so upset that they separately considered distancing the provincial party from its federal parent by creating separate memberships. And a weekend meeting of the Manitoba party was expected to pass a resolution condemning Ottawa for "abandoning the tender process."

The Manitoba protesters found ammunition after The Canadian Press—offering details obtained from freedom of information requests—reported that the department of regional industrial expansion had channelled \$420 million to Quebec between September, 1984,

and March of this year. That figure compared with \$252 million for Ontario and \$10 million for Newfoundland. In Ottawa, however, the opposition parties failed to take up Manitoba's case. Although New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent asked Auditor General Kenneth Dyck to launch a special investigation into how the contract was awarded, Dyck declined—saying the NSR saw the Liberals were willing to risk alienating vote-rich Quebec. Pawley's fellow Western premiers were similarly reluctant to join Manitoba's crusade. Saskatchewan's Grant Devine, re-elected last month after Ottawa promised \$1 billion in assistance to grain farmers, said that Mulroney's government had already done enough for the West. And Premier Don Getty of Alberta, where the Chrysler award will generate 150,000 new jobs, called the CR-18 decision "reasonable." In fact, the only Western premier who responded favorably to Pawley's televised requests for political support was British Columbia's William Vander Zalm—a point that prompted Manitoba officials to question the value of the annual Western premiers' conference.

profitable. When it closed in 1979 after just three years of operation, it was \$300 million in debt.

But agitators were proceeding smoothly in sell the refinery. For the \$1 sale price, Newfoundland Energy Corp., a Bermuda-based company, agreed to supply the facility with crude oil free off-shore and sell most of its production in the northeastern United States. Suddenly, said Pawley, Petro-Canada put "a whole bunch of new conditions" on the table. "They were the kind of conditions we're used to in Newfoundland and in Manitoba and other have-not provinces—conditions which would protect Central Canada."

With the deal rapidly slipping away, Pawley flew to Montreal for an emergency meeting with Energy Minister Marcel Masse, saying him to press Petro-Canada to accept its demands. Within days the deal was closed.

But there was an important qualification. Petro-Canada insisted that the new owner agree not to sell oil from the refinery in Central Canada to Newfoundland and Energy Minister William Marshall told Macdonald's

last week that such a restriction in the refinery's access to the Canadian market was a violation of federal laws that promote competition. Said Marshall, "There is not an acceptable premise for us. We are not talking about trade with a foreign country—we're talking about interprovincial trade." He suggested that the restrictions could be challenged under new federal competition legislation, although Newfoundland has no such plans at present.

Ottawa may also face court action over the CR-18 contract. Both NSR and Bristol warned last week that they might sue the government if it does not reimburse them for the money they spent preparing their bids. Bristol's Gowden said his company spent close to \$5 million, while Cuddy said NSR spent about \$1 million.

Bristol further claimed that Ottawa's choice of Canada would cost Canadian taxpayers an extra \$50 million. Canada, Bristol officials said, would be forced to purchase much of the technology for assembling the CR-18 from Bristol's allies in the bidding consortium. The U.S. parents of these companies, in turn, would have charged their subsidiaries for access to that technology.

But Canada's partners in an bid also possess extensive knowledge of the CR-18. Most notably, Calt Electronics Ltd. of Montreal has built three operational CR-18 flight simulators for use in training Canadian air force pilots. In fact, the same government committee that rejected NSR's bid concluded that the Bristol and Canadian groups possessed roughly equivalent knowledge of the jet, and that there would be no saving in technology costs associated with either bid.

But the committee's painstaking appraisal left no doubt that Bristol's proposal was technically superior. Both evaluations are often decided by a slim margin; the committee awarded Bristol 988 points out of a possible 1,000, compared to 840 points for Canada. And Bristol's \$100.5-million bid for the initial 18-month phase of the contract was \$3.5 million lower than Canada's.

Still, there were other considerations—not all of them political. As the winner, Canada will acquire a broad range of valuable technical information from the CR-18 manufacturer, Newfoundland Douglas Corp. of St. John's. Premier Robert Deane, said that Canada, as a designer and builder of aircraft, would make better use of that technology than Bristol, which only repairs aircraft. Energy Minister Masse also defended the choice of Canada. In an interview, La Presse, Masse said that the contract—worth



Pawley: regional jealousies



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\$1.4 billion over 30 years—would help shore up Montreal's eroding industrial base and confirm the city's status as a high-technology center.

When the decision was announced last month, the military swiftly disguised its preference for Brind. Said one officer: "We'd salute smartly and get on with it." Some Tory MPs, however, were more vocal. "I don't beg the transfer of technology argument at all," said Brian White, who represents the Dauphin-Bease River riding in northwestern Manitoba. "It's a purely political device that they're trying to justify on technical grounds."

Some Manitobans charged that Mulroney has not understood the depth of the province's concern. "Either this guy has a temper that no one can control or he got some real bad advice," said one observer of the Prime Minister's behavior during the Party meeting. "Someone led him to believe that the problem in Manitoba was a result of a hysterical, partisan Howard Pawley. That was a real tactical error because John Dool, president of Winnipeg's Chamber of Commerce, was every bit as strong as Howard on the question of trust and credibility."

After his attack on the premier, the Prime Minister explained his responsibility for the national interest. "He went into a shopping list," one participant recalled. He said that the Prime Minister added that "you get this, Quebec got this, you got this, Quebec got this, therefore everything is okay." It was apparent that he did not understand what people were really graced off about. To tell Manitobans about the money that went into the Alberta oil industry and into building out Alberta banks—these aren't big issues here in Manitoba," said Manitoba's Leo Clark, a historian from Brandon University. They underestimated Brind's importance as a symbol of progress. There's a fear that we are still seen as hewers of wood and drawers of water. It's important that Brind get a reasonable contract now."

Indeed, Rpp returned to Ottawa from Winnipeg last week with a list of up-coming contracts that Brind and his partners may want to bid on. They include an \$800-million air defence system for Canadian troops in Europe, a northern warning radar system and a \$2-billion fleet of naval helicopters. But Clark contends that there is more at stake than government contracts. Said the MP: "A lot of people who don't know the history of the West don't appreciate how politically volatile it is. What we do in the next 12 months will be crucial."

—MARK CLARK with PAUL GIBBELL in Ottaw
and DOUG BORTH in Vancouver and
CANDY WHITE in St. John's

The postage stamp revolt

Michel Côté was finally ready. After two and a half months of consultation, negotiation and delay, the Conservative cabinet was ready for Canada Post Corp. had approved the release of a comprehensive five-year business plan for the embattled Crown corporation. The ambitious document outlined how the post office would eliminate its \$185-million operating deficit by March 31, 1988—as ordered by the government—while at the same time improving postal services.

But just hours before Côté's scheduled statement last week, a revolt by angry Tory MPs forced him to postpone announcing a crucial part of the plan: a two-cent increase in the price of a first-class stamp and unspecified increases for other types of mail. Among them was an anticipated 30-per-cent hike in rates for *Mailnet*, Saturday *Mail* and other periodicals. Declared Tory backbencher Tim McInnis: "I can't see any reason for a rate increase until service has improved."

Clearly flustered by the sudden turn of events, Côté stepped from a tense three-hour cabinet meeting and ordered officials to refile hundreds of press kits. Instead of announcing the planned price increases, the new documents said that Côté had referred the contentious issue to a parliamentary committee for further study. Another of the rebellious MPs, William Remington of Burlington, Ont., called it "a great day for Parliament and a great day for the backbenchers in particular."

But the government's failure of nerve was a setback for Canada Post. It stands to forfeit about \$12 million for every month the proposed rate increases are delayed—a serious threat to its hopes for solving tough financial and operational problems. Post Office

president Donald Lander, appointed last February after his predecessor, Michael Warren, quit in a dispute with the government over just office policy, was clearly taken off guard by the seventh-hour political maneuvering. The affair also underscored the chaotic



Côté, postponing an increase in postal rates

problems of political interference in post office management decisions. And it indicated that many Tory backbenchers were not inclined to accede blindly to politically sensitive directives from cabinet, especially after the government's handling of the C-18 maintenance contract competition.

Although the delayed rate increases dominated discussion last week, several other elements in the five-year plan could prove equally controversial. Already approved by the government are plans to:

- Limit door-to-door mail delivery

Although he was not receiving such news will be cut off, new suburban subdivisions will be served by community mailboxes only.

- Consider yearly increases in postal rates, limited to the Consumer Price Index.

- Improve new, more reliable delivery standards. First-class letters would be delivered locally in two days, between cities in the same province in three days and between major centres across the country in four.

- Reallocate 5,700 positions in the post office's 62,000-member workforce by 1991.

- Allow more contracting-out of postal services to extend hours and improve service.

According to the plan, the changes would erase the corporation's deficit in two years. The year after that, it would turn a \$53-million profit. However, the corporation will also seek a special injection of government funds—\$185 million this year and \$161 million in 1987-1988—to cover the cost of new equipment and vehicles needed to achieve its goals. The highest make-over was necessary, Lander said last week, to "restore our mobility and make Canada Post an organization we can all be proud of."

Côté had originally expected to table the new plan by April. The deadline was subsequently extended, partly because of uncertainty about how Parliament would establish a new regulatory authority to approve rate increases. Aides to Côté were also disheartened with a proposed advertising campaign to sell the new plan to Canadians. Côté's close aide to Côté denied reports that he had simply resisted making a politically risky decision, as he reportedly did with controversial pharmaceutical legislation last spring, while serving as Consumer and Corporate Affairs minister. The plan was ultimately approved by cabinet on Oct. 17, after final negotiations with Canada Post.

According to insiders, most Tory MPs were willing to accept Côté's proposals, including the controversial community mail boxes. But many were adamant that they could not justify a rate increase to their constituents. Côté had attempted to avert backbench grumbling by consulting a caucus committee before the corporate plan was drafted. However, aides to the minister acknowledged that these meetings did not review the rate increase. As a result, when Côté rose in the Railway Committee Room of the Centre Block last Wednesday to alert caucus colleagues to the imminent announcement, he misread the angry response. Acknowledged an senior government official: "We knew caucus would be the toughest hurdle, but we

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didn't expect them to be so obstinate." After the meeting, Côté lunched in the House of Commons lobby with Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski and senior officials from the Prime Minister's Office for nearly an hour before finally reading a formal statement to Parliament. Later, Mazankowski received a phone call shortly before he was to leave for the National Press Building on Wellington Street informing him that there had been a sudden change in plans. However, in an interview with Maclean's, Côté said he was confident that the committee would finish its review by Christmas and approve a rate increase. New stamps would then be issued sometime in March, after the 60-day notice period required by law. Even if the committee advised against raising rates, Côté said later, the government would not be bound by the recommendations. Said the minister: "We feel there is a need for an increase. There are not too many alternatives."

By week's end, the Canada Post plan was under attack from all quarters. The post office's powerful unions charged that the proposals would reduce service to the public and threaten the job security of employees. In a rare joint statement, the unions vowed to fight the changes, even though about half the country's new stamps had already been delivered by letter carriers. Said Liberal MP Alfonso Gagliano: "The government has just created two classes of citizens—one gets home delivery and the other has to leave our Canadian mailboxes to fetch the mail."

In response, Côté noted that Canadians had an opportunity to state opinions about post office reform when a special private-sector committee toured the country last year. Many of its 42 recommendations were included in the post office plan. But the document failed to grapple with one major problem cited by the committee—interference by politicians. The committee's solution, a strengthened Canada Post board of directors and a three-party regulatory agency that could not be overruled by cabinet, Côté insisted last week that once the new post office plan was in place, the Crown corporation would operate free of political interference, much as Air Canada does now. But as last week's events illustrated, the line separating politics and the post office is often difficult to discern.

—MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa



Collender at the CN shops in Montreal, a week-long campaign to save the deal

Attempts at a rescue

For the once-thriving railway city of Montreal, it has been a disappointing year. In June the New Brunswick community of 55,000 learned that Canadian National Railways, struggling to reduce a \$2.6-billion debt, planned to close its giant repair shops. Montreal's biggest employer. The blow was softened slightly by the simultaneous announcement that Canadian General Electric would buy CN's shops and convert them into a locomotive factory, saving 300 of the 1,300 jobs at the facility. But to make the operation possible, CN insisted that it also be allowed to do repair work for the railway. That condition required consent from seven CN unions, which have job-protection agreements precluding restricting out. Last week two unions refused to make the concession. Within hours, CN suspended plans to buy the shops.

In response, New Brunswick politicians launched a week-long campaign to save the deal. After flying to Montreal, Premier Richard Hatfield and Dennis Cochrane, the Conservative MP for the Moncton area, emerged from a meeting with senior CN executives refusing to concede defeat. "I haven't by any means given up hope that the transaction will take place," Hatfield said. Added co-chairman Maurice LeCharr: "Certainly, the point of no return has not been reached." The next day Hatfield earned his rescue effort to Ottawa, where he met Transport Minister John Crosbie. Under opposition questioning in the Commons,

Crosbie said responsibility for a settlement lay with the unions and the companies. The unions, Crosbie suggested, should drop their ideological biases and allow CGE to complete the deal.

That response failed to satisfy Montreal Mayor George Robitoux. Noting that most CN workers wanted to accommodate CGE, he said that Ottawa should step in to force a settlement. Of the seven local unions, only the second-largest, the pipe fitters, voted against the contracting-out clause. The largest union, the 275-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, voted in favor, but was overruled by the union's national board of directors. The board, said Gordon Collender, the machinists' Atlantic general chairman, was concerned that, if sanctioned, contracting out would spread, putting union members out of work.

After a Wednesday meeting with Hatfield, the unions asked Federal Labor Minister Pierre Cadieux to name a mediator. Thursday, Cadieux complied and set the first negotiating session for the following day. Failure of the deal would be a major setback for Montreal. The shops employ two per cent of the city's labor force. And three-quarters of the jobs will disappear even if the CGE agreement is saved—the equivalent, says Robitoux, of losing 25,000 jobs in Montreal. In Montreal, it is a scenario that few wish to contemplate.

—KATHRYN BAILEY in Fredericton



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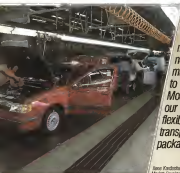
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Death in a small town

His death has sparked allegations of a police coverup and

H made him a martyr in one of Quebec's most notorious labor battles in the past decade. On Oct. 23, Gaston Harvey, 38, an unemployed heavy-equipment operator, died in the custody of Quebec Provincial Police in Pointe-a-Pic, 150 km north-

A second autopsy concluded that Harvey had suffocated—after a blow on the head that caused a concussion

the carrier," charged CMT president Gerard Larose. And the autopsy results threatened to further inflame the Fume-au-Pic dispute, which has brought violence to the once-peaceful community and bitterly divided its 1,363 residents. On one occasion, vandals poured blue dye into the Manoir's drinking water. Last month 70 demonstrators were arrested after they broke into the hotel and caused

an estimated \$15,000 damage to furniture and contents.

Last week's revelations heightened pressure on Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa to seek a settlement. Bourassa has come under personal attack from both the QNT and the Parti Québécois opposition because the latter's senior, Raymond Lévesque, is making a substantial contribution to the Edmonton Oilers and is, in effect, a friend of the premier. In fact, when Bourassa is in Quebec City he stays at Lévesque's Hotel Université in the nearby suburb of St. Roy. After Harvey's death, Bourassa appointed Québec's Solicitor Court Judge Robert Sirois to conduct an inquest. And last week Bourassa met with Raymond Lévesque, a special mediator to the inquest. After the meeting, Lévesque said that the workers would have to be reinstated in order to resolve the conflict.

Meanwhile, in Pontreux-Pin, the fired employees returned to the picket line after a week long truce, wearing black scarves in Harvey's memory. Said Guy Bolavert, a CMTU adviser to the picketers: "We never tried to make Harvey into a hero. But he died while fighting for a union cause." Clearly, that fight is far from over.

—BRUCE WALLACE is Poet-in-Residence at the University of Iowa.

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Business as a hobby

The lay witness wore a blue suit, a patterned blouse—and a forced smile. After more than 11 weeks of hearings, Steven Stevens finally testified last week at the inquiry into conflict-of-interest allegations against her husband and business partner, former industry minister Sinclair Stevens. Despite her reluctance to discuss private business in public, Stevens insisted that her husband never helped

manage the family firms after he was named to the cabinet in 1984. But she did concede that he joined a complex plan to market what she called a "Christ coin" to commemorate the 2,000th birthday of Jesus. "This type of conceptualization is our hobby," she said. "A lot of people talk about wonder. We talk about concepts."

In clipped tones, Stevens declared that she never told her husband about

the operations of their financially troubled holding company, York Centre Corp. She also denied negotiating a \$2.6-million loan that she negotiated in 1985 from Toronto businessman Anton Chupka, a cofounder of the auto-parts firm Magna International Inc. In that same year Magna received \$15.9 million in grants from Stevens's department. "My husband was in cabinet," she told the inquiry chairman, Ontario High Court Judge William Parker. "I know he shouldn't, and wouldn't be having anything to do with any of the companies."

But the minister did participate in a plan to involve the Vatican in a coin-marketing operation. Before he entered the cabinet, Stevens pioneered the sale of strip bonds through a company in his York Centre group. Sales of strip bonds—5-year instruments in which the coupons are sold separately from the bond—began until the November, 1981, budget deemed that income tax would have to be paid every three years or second interest.

The tax, Stevens told the inquiry, could be avoided if investors bought a gold coin redeemable at a fixed rate in the year 2000. The coin might then be sold to collectors for more than the fixed rate. Because the coin's true value would not be known until that time, she reasoned that Ottawa would not levy taxes. Stevens asked her husband to call Kenneth Cardinal Carter, Bishop of Toronto, in December, 1985, to ask for the Vatican's help in marketing the coin. At a meeting in New York that same month the couple also asked Chase Manhattan Capital Markets Group to guarantee the value of the coin. During the meeting, she said, both public and private business were discussed.

According to the Stevens' plan outlined in a letter to Carter, the couple intended to sell the coins for about \$400. Each carried a guaranteed value of \$1,250 in the year 2000. The holder was to receive an annual return of 8.15 per cent on the investment—and strip bonds would back that guarantee. Stevens insisted that there was no conflict of interest when her husband phoned Carter because "the business would be a hobby." When conclusions ceased David Scott referred to the plan as "a business idea, the bottom line of which is profit," Stevens retorted. "We would hope so." But the plan collapsed. Chase Manhattan rejected the idea, and the Vatican said that the plan violated its agreements with the Italian government. Judge Parker must now decide how much the hobby damaged a political career.

—MARY JANKIN in Toronto



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The firm new master of the House

After John Fraser hoarded a fight last month from Ottawa to Vancouver, one of the first things he did was turn on his portable cassette player. The Speaker of the House of Commons was enjoying the sounds of parliamentary debate—in French. Through the earphones came the Québécois street slang favored by Liberal MP Jean-Claude Maliquet and the machine-gun staccato of another francophone member, Jean Lapierre. Indeed, since Fraser (Vancouver South) assumed the Speaker's chair last month, he has been studying for about 10 hours a week with a private French-language tutor. His aim is to counter the most common criticisms of his election—his lack of fluency in one of Canada's two official languages.

But mastering French is not the only battle the former fisheries minister is waging. In September, 1988, he resigned his cabinet post amid a scandal over his decision to permit the sale of tainted tuna from New Brunswick. Sensing the damage to reputation from the political wilderness, he won the Speaker's chair in a marathon 11-ballot parliamentary vote that pitted him against his present deputy, the popular and fiercely bilingual Tory MP Marcel Dugas. Fraser's new job requires the 56-year-old lawyer to maintain decorum in a sometimes fractious House—a goal that often eluded his predecessor, John Wootton.

Fraser's serious and somewhat detached style contrasts sharply with Wootton's sometimes jocular, sometimes officious approach. And since Parliament began its fall session on Oct. 1, members have behaved like models of decorum. Fraser attributes the change to two factors: complaints from constituents during the summer recess over new behavior and the first-ever election of the Speaker, which forced members to concentrate on what his role should be. Still, Fraser told *Maclean's* last week that at times he has to strive to appear serious. "What might seem awfully funny to me might not seem too funny to the member," he

said. "You've got to be very careful that you don't offend the sensitivities or sensitivities of any member, because I'm the guardian of all of that."

But MPs from all parties credit Fraser himself with the calm, if untested, new mood in Ottawa. Said



Fraser goes out of his way to defuse controversial situations

Liberal House Leader Herb Gray: "He seems to be going out of his way to defuse situations of potential controversy or dissent rather than letting them go on." Conservative MP Don Blenkins noted that Fraser was "keeping the nastiness down considerably." And New Democratic House Leader Nelson Rios suggested that Fraser's 14 years as an opposition backbencher had sensitized him to their concerns. "He has admonished ministers, as well as opposition members," said Rios. "There's a noticeable improvement."

In his new role, Fraser has sought advice from Bosley, who resigned in September under pressure from the Prime Minister's Office, and from former speakers Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé and James Jerome. He has also

relied on his preparatory career as a courtroom lawyer. The experience, he says, taught him how to remain outwardly calm during times of stress. To gauge the mood of members, Fraser watches their eyes. "If you move in before the concern you see in somebody's face turns to agitation," he said, "it helps a great deal in keeping order." And he has watched videotapes of what he calls "some of the more discordant moments in the House," trying to pinpoint where a minor incident turned into a major one. He pays special attention to the daily Question Period "because a new Speaker is going to rise or fall on how it goes."

Because Fraser must also administer the 2,266-member Commons staff and its annual \$307.5-million operating budget, his business day runs from 8 a.m. until after 10 p.m., leaving little time for a personal life. For the moment, he has declined to move into the Speaker's official residence in the Gatineau Hills, preferring to stay with his wife, Catherine, in their modest house in the Glebe, minutes from Parliament Hill. Many of his spare moments are devoted to polishing his French. Although sister Michele Le Lay said that she regards

Fraser as functionally bilingual, the Speaker still occasionally relies on English translation. According to Conservative MP Claude Jaques, Fraser has trouble understanding Quebec slang, but the fact that he makes an effort to speak French is important to francophones.

Despite his performance so far, many MPs say that a full-throttle Commons crisis will provide a better test of his abilities. By then, Fraser hopes, members will see him as fair, consistent and firm. Perhaps recalling the awkward circumstances of Bosley's resignation, Fraser says, "When you're in trouble, you must have the support of the members to back you up."

—MARLENE DOBMAN in Ottawa

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New threats to free trade

The product looks glamorous, but it is worth more than \$2 billion a year to Canadian farmers. While most grown corn—as opposed to the sweet corn consumed around dining-room tables—ends up in the stomachs of farm livestock, its derivatives find their way into everything from whiskey to paint. Now, the versatile crop has found its way into the complex middle of Canada-U.S. trade disputes.

Last week the department of revenue slapped a \$140-a-ton duty on grain corn imported from the United States. Declared Terry Dugard, general manager of the 21,000-member Ontario Corn Producers Association (OCPA), "The duty will effectively price American corn right out of the market." But embattled advocates of free trade did not share Dugard's optimism. For them, the duty was an ominous reminder of how long the road will be to reaching a workable trade agreement between Canada and the United States.

Indeed, the corn duty was only one of several discouraging developments last week for free traders. In Washington, International Trade Minister Pat Carney and a delegation of four government trade and forestry ministers restated Canada's determination to fight a 15-per-cent U.S. duty imposed on Canadian exports of softwood lumber.

But even as Carney spoke, U.S. Ambassador Thomas Niles said that it was "unrealistic" of the Canadian government to expect that free trade talks with Washington would lead to an abridgement of retaliatory trade barriers being erected from time to time. And in the Commons, Carney's cabinet colleagues did not deny charges by New Democratic Party Leader Ed Broadbent that they were prepared to bargain away key provisions of the Auto Pact, a cornerstone of the Canadian auto industry—and of the Central Canadian economy.

For Carney, Niles's comments were cause for serious concern. The accusa-

tion has made it clear that Canada's primary goal in the current trade talks is to shield Canadian exporters from protectionist measures. Canadian exporters contend that U.S. businesses use trade barriers simply to hurt their competitors. But Niles said that eliminating the potential for new trade obstacles was "irragra-



Harvesting grain corn in the U.S., Niles (below), jacking American corn right out of the market

tical, at least in the near term." A day later, Broadbent released a memo that raised questions about the government's repeated claims that the Auto Pact would not be part of free trade negotiations.

The document, which Broadbent said was prepared by a government official last month for External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, said that trade negotiators had already begun to discuss removal of some elements of the pact. Finance Minister Michael Wilson did not deny the charge, saying only that Ottawa "recognizes fully the importance of the auto industry."

But Ottawa's tough action on corn imports clearly provided welcome relief for growers. Since last Christmas, when President Ronald Reagan signed a controversial farm bill providing strong financial support for U.S. farmers, farm have grown

among Canadian farmers about the rising tide of subsidized American farm products. Last year the United States exported 412,000 tons of subsidized corn to Canada. As a result, the OCPA decided to launch a formal complaint in Ottawa against the U.S. subsidies. Submitting five volumes of documents to the revenue department, the association cited 70 loan, grant and price-support programs available to American farmers. The new \$140 duty—which will increase the price of

imported corn by about 75 per cent—is intended to offset those subsidies.

The Canadian Import Tribunal will determine by March whether imports of U.S. corn have indeed hurt Canadian farmers. If it concludes that they have not, the duty will be dropped and money that was collected from exporters will be refunded. As well, the revenue department has until February to determine a final value for the duty. Washington has made it clear that it will fight the duty both before the tribunal and in further Revenue hearings. Within hours of last week's announcement, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Richard Lyng described it as "completely unwarranted." And in an oblique reference to the trade talks, Lyng said that it was "inconsistent with recent efforts by both the United States and Canada to bring about freer and fairer trade." Clearly, both sides will now have to make a concentrated effort to prevent such trade skirmishes from derailing the historic talks altogether.

—MARK CLARK in Ottawa

THE NEW CAPITOLSTARS

COVER

Suddenly, the wartime matinee idol now seemed to be more deeply rooted with voters. In the role that has propelled household appliances and conservative ideology with equal success, voters detected an uncharacteristically subdued note. As members of the White House staff assembled in the antechamber of Washington's Old Executive Office Building after last week's raucous congressional elections, they found a Ronald Reagan vastly different from the President who enthusiastically harangued the country on a grueling campaign schedule only days before. Despite the upbeat ramblings of his scripted pep talk, Reagan appeared to be shaken by the biggest political setback of his presidency. After he had lapped 40,000 km through 22 states in a last-minute attempt to turn the election into a national referendum on his policies, voters had spurned his personal appeal and returned the Senate to Democratic control with a 50-to-48 margin that exceeded his opponents' wildest expectations.

Reining: In six states, where Reagan previously stomped for Republican candidates, eight lost in what was seen as a stunning personal repudiation of the administration's 15-per-cent tariff on Canadian softwood lumber imports that will help his state's timber industry—won. The Republicans made no gains in the already Democratic-controlled House of Representatives, and out of the 36 governorships that were on the line, Republican candidates won only eight. "The results effectively signaled that, after six years in office, the most popular President in recent history had been unable to bring about a conservative realignment of the American political landscape. Realized voting House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill: "If there was a Reagan revolution, it's over."

For his part, Reagan, in his postelection speech to his White House troops, vowed to "complete the revolution that we have so well begun." But analysts on all parts of the political spectrum agreed that Reagan will face a rocky final two years in office. With the Senate and its key committee chairmen-

ships in Democratic hands, the President's opponents will have the means to begin eating back on some of the programs dearest to his heart. Among them, the largest peacetime military buildup in history, funding for the space-based Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), popularly dubbed Star Wars, and aid for Nicaragua's contra rebels. Although the Democrats were quick to sound a conciliatory note, they promised

a far more foreign policy adviser to President Richard Nixon. "It's going to be a rough time for international trade. It doesn't bode very well for anyone, but for Canada it seems terrible." Although most political observers shared this pessimism, some also saw other implications in the U.S. political power shift, including a possible change in the Canadian political mood (page 38).

(from his office in July) along with the value of the U.S. dollar.

Reagan: That encouraged Trade Minister Pat Canning to strike a conciliatory note during a visit to Washington last week, declaring that it would be "premature" to judge the new Congress. Noting the gradual improvement in the U.S. trade balance, a Canadian Embassy official said, "The question is, if in the next six months there is a

Democratic trade bill was certain to "apply structures to Canadian trade." As a result, said Answorthy, the current free trade negotiations would become "all the more irrelevant to what's really going on." Declared New Democratic Party trade critic Steven Langdon: "I think frankly the chances of a free trade agreement being achieved by the government are much worse now than they were before Tuesday night."

Still, some U.S. analysts argued that the protectionist mood in Congress might provoke the White House to take its own pre-emptive measures. Charles Dumas, director of the Canadian studies program at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, pointed out that Congress's determination to go ahead with a protectionist bill will give even more pressure on the White House to

voters were apparently unswayed. The economy helped the Democrats since their most desperate appeals in the South and in the mid-Western Farm Belt. In Georgia, former Democratic representative Wyche Fowler, the underdog, used television ads that argued the backdrop of an abandoned farmhouse, and he blamed Reagan's agricultural policies for the greatest number of farm foreclosures since the Depression. Fowler credited those tactics with helping him to wrest victory from incumbent Senator Mark Minton.

Backfire: But expectations of a swift economic solution could backfire on the Democrats, who take over the legislative reins with a \$220.7-billion national debt. As well, they will be hobbled by the budget-cutting Gramm-Rudman amendment that will prevent them from introducing sweeping new



Muskrat (center) = landslide victory and a drastically changed Senate



Kennedy and wife, Shriver, Reagan (right) another first for the clan and the end of a dream for a popular president

to put the brakes on Reagan's conservative judicial appointments and begin an assault on his free-market philosophies with a trade bill designed to protect American industries. Indeed, despite the fact that Canadians have historically perceived the Democrats as sympathetic to their interests, that party's determination to turn trade into the major issue before the 1988 presidential elections could spell disaster for Canada's trading relationship with the United States—as well as for current free trade negotiations. Predicted Helmut Sonnenfeldt,

Before the final ballots had even been tallied, Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia, expected to be elected Senate majority leader next week, promised to deliver new trade legislation to Reagan's desk by the end of next year. Calling the current trade deficit—expected to reach a record \$170 billion (U.S.) this year—a "national embarrassment," Byrd charged that "the working people of this country have been engaged in international competition." But analysts noted that in recent months, the trade deficit has declined to \$10.5 billion in October

trend in that direction will it take some steam out of the protectionist push?" In Ottawa, the consensus among expatriate politicians—and even some government officials—was that U.S. election results could cripple the free trade thrust. A senior government official, who requested anonymity, told Maclean's that the Democrats who control the U.S. Senate "are going to make things more difficult. But things were pretty difficult on the trade side before the election." Liberal trade critic Lloyd Answorthy argued that the

conclude a bilateral free trade agreement with Ottawa as a counterweight. "Now it is clear Washington is going to be more interested in a free trade agreement with Canada than ever before," he said. "On the basis of this election, trade and economic matters have suddenly become high priorities." **Reagan:** In fact, the election results signaled that voters had apparently lost faith in Reagan's noisy economic promises. On the fringe stretch of his campaign swing through the South, the President predicted that the nation was headed for "a second boom." But

measures for social spending. If, as seemed likely, they are unprepared to react unoppositely by instituting a tax increase, the Democrats may well end up being blamed for the nation's economic woes in 1988. Even so, the election was a stunning vindication of the Democrats, who were outspent and out-organized by the Republicans by as much as 3 to 1. Indeed, the results showed that in many cases the Republicans' hope was closer to reality than theirs. In 11 of the 36 closest Senate races, where Republican candidates raised \$8 million

more than their opponents, underfunded Democrats won. In North Carolina, the winner was former Democrat governor Terry Sanford, who generated sympathy among voters who he recognized his turn to pay for a final bout of television ads against Senator James Broyhill.

Tastes: As they savored the taste of victory, some Democrats warned that the party will have to draft a workable new legislative program and patch up a growing internal split—or risk watching its triumph in battle subvert.



Caution: Sen. Byrd (above right) a retired seafarer for political women as more female candidates lose than ever before.

hardies. Said Delaware's Senator Joe Biden, one of the party's presidential hopefuls, "We're going to have an opportunity for the first time to set the agenda. The Democrats are going to have to demonstrate what they want to do."

Some critics have charged that the Democratic party has become a loose coalition of independent and conflicting voices. And they contend that the only reason the Democrats triumphed in last week's elections was that the campaigns were run on local—not national—issues. Many of the party's traditional liberal interest groups objected to the new centrist platform that the Democratic national committee published last month. And they chafed at charges by Representative Jack Ruess, the Republican presidential hopeful, that some Democrats in the last campaign sounded too much like Reagan Republicans.

Not were political observers optimistic that the Democrats will manage to chart a clear national course before

choosing their candidate for the 1988 presidential election. Said Stephen Hess of Washington's Brookings Institution, "The Democrats haven't had an agenda up till now, and they're not going to come up with one instantly overnight." More cynically, James Sundquist, an electoral specialist from Brookings, predicted that with the President pried against a hostile Congress over the next two years, US politics will plunge into a "stalemate—a condition of paralysis where they're unable to deal with our deficits or any-

thing else."



thing else." While House officials indicated that Reagan is prepared to veto any legislation he does not like—especially any trade bill, Sundquist warned that a standoff could lead to "two years of the most ugly back-pitching we've seen in years. In 1988 the voters are going to have a hard time holding anybody responsible."

Abuses: Still, last week's results appeared to demonstrate that the Reagan era had failed to produce any profound change in the U.S. political topography. In fact, many of these freshmen Republican senators elected on the President's coattails in 1980 were the ones swept to defeat this time, including Florida's Senator Paula Hawkins, who had never managed to shake out any federal issues except child abuse.

And after suffering a string of losses to the Republicans in the South and West in recent years, the Democrats staged a stinging comeback by recapturing Senate seats in Alabama, North

Carolina, Georgia, California, Nevada, Washington state and both Dakota. In California, where Reagan had laid his personal prerogative as the tie for Republican challenger Representative Ed Zorba, veteran Senator Alan Cranston's fourth victory signaled that the Republicans had failed to make a definitive dent in Senate legacies (page 58).

Blockers: In at least four Southern states—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina—surveys of voters leaving the polls indicated that newly elected Democratic senators owed

Civil War, replacing retiring George Wallace. The Republican gubernatorial victories were offset by the fact that Democrats gained control of four more statehouses, giving them majorities in 53 of the country's 86 state legislative chambers. Said Democratic national chairman Paul Kirk, "Political realignment was put to rest. We are going to continue to be the dominant party as ever level."

Meat: For women, the elections delivered a mixed message. Although more women ran for more office than

protesters or governors who knew their way around the corridors of power. Among the new faces, Florida Gov. Robert Graham, 56, a moderate Democrat who advocates a tough stand on crime and supports aid for the cotton, Colorado's Representative Timothy Wirth, 47, a min-max congressman who is an expert on the federal budget, and Nevada's Harry Reid, 47, a moderate two-term congressman who delivered Reagan a stinging personal blow by winning the seat being vacated by President's close friend Senator Paul

cladding funding for Star Wars. Despite that, Sundquist predicted that the Democrats will aggressively support Star Wars. "I don't think they'd care out it," he said. "It would give the Republicans nothing to sneeze at."

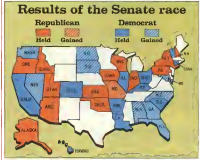
Blowback: From fulfilling his domestic agenda, Reagan is expected to turn most of his attention to foreign affairs in the next two years with as an eye to securing his place in history. For free there, he will face more congressional challenges. A former intelligence committee led by Rhode Island's veteran Senator Claiborne Pell, a frequent critic of Reagan's programs. Most observers do not expect the Democrats to cut off financing for Reagan's contracts completely, for fear of being branded soft on communism. But under Pell, Reagan will face serious difficulties in giving a second infusion of funds for the anti-aircraft forces.

Environmental issues played a key role in several Democratic victories in the Senate, providing encouragement to supporters of acid-rain legislation. But one of the biggest obstacles will be Byrd, whose home state of Virginia is one of the country's largest coal-producing states. Said House Elder, Washington representative of the Sierra Club, "Byrd is not going to be easily persuaded that acid-rain legislation should be brought to the floor."

Risks: Both Democratic senators Ernest Holling, a South Carolina maverick who takes over the conservative committee, and Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who did not have to face re-election and will head the finance committee, intend to bring forward a trade bill in the next two years. Still, Democratic strategist Patrick Caddell says that the party will have to tread carefully on an issue where voters indicate a curious ambivalence. He opposes foreign imports that threaten American jobs, but they are against protectionism. Caddell added that in their race to take action on trade, Democrats could make a serious mistake in that they are misinterpreting of the nation's mood. "If the Democrats raised this election," he said, "they will certainly win off any chance they have in 1988."

The Democrats also run another risk of underestimating a President who has often thrived on adversity in his 50-year political career. Although Reagan's greatly diminished lustre at the ballot box may soothe many Democrats that it is no longer as risky to take him on, the President's personal popularity and veto power—plus five million transatlantic votes for massaging said one White House strategist who requested anonymity—"Reagan's not a lame duck, and he's a dead one."

MARCH McDONALD in Washington with KAGAN/ALAN THOMAS in Ottawa



ever before (including 61 for the House of Representatives, six for the Senate and nine for governor), the number of women in office did not increase. In Nebraska, voters elected former state treasurer Kay Orr as the first female Republican governor in history. But in other women were defeated in gubernatorial races. In Maryland, congresswoman Barbara Mikulski won a landslide victory over former White House aide Linda Chavez to become the first Democratic woman elected to the Senate in her own right in 26 years.

Democrats were confident that their new class of freshman senators will not turn out to be political transients—like the Republicans elected in Reagan's wake in 1980—because many of them were long-made senators, either former con-

gressmen or governors who knew their way around the corridors of power. Among the new faces, Florida Gov. Robert Graham, 56, a moderate Democrat who advocates a tough stand on crime and supports aid for the cotton, Colorado's Representative Timothy Wirth, 47, a min-max congressman who is an expert on the federal budget, and Nevada's Harry Reid, 47, a moderate two-term congressman who delivered Reagan a stinging personal blow by winning the seat being vacated by President's close friend Senator Paul

Meat: For women, the elections delivered a mixed message. Although more women ran for more office than protesters or governors who knew their way around the corridors of power. Among the new faces, Florida Gov. Robert Graham, 56, a moderate Democrat who advocates a tough stand on crime and supports aid for the cotton, Colorado's Representative Timothy Wirth, 47, a min-max congressman who is an expert on the federal budget, and Nevada's Harry Reid, 47, a moderate two-term congressman who delivered Reagan a stinging personal blow by winning the seat being vacated by President's close friend Senator Paul



In testing the volatile winds of American political change, there is no better weather vane than the state of California. Always a breeding ground for social and political change, the populous sun-soaked West Coast state gave President Ronald Reagan his political start as governor in 1966. It also launched Proposition 13, landmark antitaxation directive. Howard Jarvis's so-called "tax revolt" campaign in 1978 that marked the first time that citizens had given themselves a tax cut—in that case a 50-percent reduction in property taxes. Last week, as part of the US midterm elections, Californians went to the polls to face a dizzying array of controversial issues that ranged from the question of making English the official state language to whether AIDS victims should be quarantined. But the result that could herald the most far-reaching consequence was the election of Rose Elizabeth Bird, the chief justice of California's Supreme Court, who was denounced by voters in a backlash against her record of liberal judicial decisions, especially her refusal to impose the death penalty.

Vivaciousness: When the voters did not reconfirm the appointment of the vivacious 59-year-old Democrat, Bird became the first judge to lose such a vote since California's system of electoral caudillos began in 1934. Her loss was unprecedented, but predictable. The first choice was named to California's highest court, when Democrat Gov. Jerry Brown appointed her in 1977, Bird became a lightning rod for statewide disaffection with liberal courts. Her opponents, a well-funded coalition of big business, political conservatives and supporters of capital punishment, called themselves "Bird hunters" and referred to her legal decisions as "Bird droppings."

Over nine years, Bird voted to overturn all 41 of the death sentences imposed by lower courts. She also took liberal stands on capital punishment and other causes, including the rights of tenants, women and organized labor. As a result, some legal observers regarded Bird's defeat as a troubling precedent. Said Laurence Tribe, an en-



Bird: "She was controversial even before she got to the office."

CAUGHT IN A BACKLASH

COVER

light in constitutional law at Harvard Law School. "California may be a bell-weather if people around the country observe that a concerted effort to unseat a judge—not necessarily for principled reasons, but politically—can succeed, the independence of judges around the country may be jeopardized."

Blayings: The campaign against Bird began in earnest two years ago, when a group of conservatives set up a committee called *Crisis Victims for Court Reform* and launched a direct-mail campaign that, along with the efforts of other groups, raised more than \$1 million. Some of the mailed literature contained descriptions of brutal slayings and mockingly by claiming that Bird had "let the killers go free." But that was not true. Although Bird never approved an execution, all the offenders whose cases she reviewed

remained in prison, most of them serving 25 years with no possibility of parole. The committee also paid for a series of emotionally charged television commercials. In one, the grieving mother of a 13-year-old girl said: "My daughter, Robin, never got to her ballet lesson. But the man who kidnapped and killed her is still alive." The final message: "Vote no to Chief Justice Rose Bird."

Cry: During the campaign, Bird's name became a rallying cry for Republicans. The anti-Bird sentiment was so strong that Democrats were reluctant to defend her, especially because newspaper polls reported that more than 80 percent of the California voters favored the death penalty. But there may have been other reasons for Bird's stunning defeat. Said Betty Medsger, who wrote the 1982 book *Framed: The New Right Attack on Chief Justice Rose Bird and the Courts*: "She was controversial even before she got to the office." When Brown appointed Bird chief justice in 1977, she had just served seven years after two years as state secretary of agriculture. A lawyer who graduated from Berkeley Law School in 1960, Bird had not served on the bench before her appointment. She described her assignment on the court as "the equivalent of making a man the Pope."

And Bird angered conservatives by refusing an calling herself "chairperson" of the Judicial Council instead of chairwoman. Said Medsger: "Put all these things together and the ingredients make her a pretty good lightning rod." Bird's cause was not helped by her own inexpressible failure to mount a strong campaign to counteract her detractors. Although film stars Warren Beatty and other Hollywood luminaries rallied to her cause and raised \$1 million in campaign funds, Bird refused to fight. Rejecting support from the National Organization for Women, the California Trial Lawyers Association and the Bar Association of California, she acted as her own campaign chairman and even wrote the script for her low-budget television commercials. Bird, who is single, insisted on taking what she called "the high road"

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in one of the toughest campaigns in state history. Bud Bird: "If I truly wanted to have an image that would be useful to me, I'd take you home. I'd have my niece and nephews there. I'd be taking cookies. I'd have my 12-year-old nephew there taking wonderful snapshots about me as a child. That's what works in this society now."

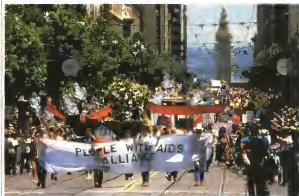
While Bird served as a focus for right-wing movements, California's liberals rallied to defeat a hotly debated issue, one of 13 statewide propositions dealing with issues from tax increases

that, opposite to Proposition 65, included every major medical association in the state and a cross section of politicians including moderate Republicans. Gov. George Deukmejian said his opponent, Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley, "The Lasevich initiative is a throwback to the Dark Ages."

Cancer: Hollywood traditionally plays a major role in California politics, and last week was no exception. Actress Jane Fonda and her husband, State Assemblyman Tom Hayden, celebrated his re-election and the success

official U.S. language. Propositions indicated that the measure would encourage immigrants to learn English and prevent the state from being divided along linguistic lines. Hayakawa said that Canada was proof that bilingualism did not work. Spanish-speakers now make up 20 per cent of California's 26 million population, and some Hispanic community leaders argued that the proposition was simply a means of eliminating government bilingual programs and emergency services.

In the wake of the election, specula-



San Francisco marches a political cross section opposed Proposition 65, which would have quarantined AIDS victims

to ceilings on the salaries of state employees. Proposition 64, which Virginia-based political extremist Landon Lasevich advanced, urged that anyone suffering from AIDS or carrying the virus should be quarantined in extensive centers. Lasevich, who says that AIDS is "an even greater threat than nuclear war," instead—in defiance of available medical evidence—that AIDS is spread by casual contact, insects and airborne particles. His opponents raised \$2.1 million to fight and defeat Proposition 64 by a margin of almost 3 to 1. At the "No on 64" offices in San Francisco, the mainly homosexual staff was lively aware of the latest grim statistics on the spread of AIDS. As of October, there were 1,642 reported deaths from the disease in San Francisco this year. Despite

of Proposition 68, an anti-pollution measure that passed overwhelmingly. The law, which will go into effect on Jan. 1, will make it illegal to dump cancer-causing chemicals where they could contaminate drinking water. Supporters said that it will be the environmental equivalent of tax-cutting Proposition 13, which was initiated across the country.

Anger: For California's immigrant community, the passing of Proposition 65, making English the sole official language of the heavily Hispanic state, caused anger and confusion. The measure was the brainchild of Samuel Hayakawa—a Canadian-born former Republican senator who is of Japanese descent—and who failed to persuade Congress to adopt English as the only

one centered on the measures passed by Bird and two other liberal judges who were not reconfirmed. Many political and media pundits predicted that Deukmejian, who among his support isolated the liberal opponents of Proposition 65, would let his conservative instincts prevail in his choice of Bird's successor. He was expected to name his former law partner and the most conservative member of the court, Justice Malcolm Lucas, to the position of chief justice. The prospect saddened Bird, whose term ends on Jan. 5. "I think," she predicted, "we will see reactions in California based not on the law but on political expediency."

—JANE O'BARA in San Francisco with
BONNIE GREGG in Los Angeles

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A CANADIAN ASSESSMENT

COVER

With control of the U.S. Senate vacated from the Republicans, President Ronald Reagan will now have to submit his conservative agenda to a Democratic-controlled Congress during the two years remaining in his term of office. To assess how that political shift could affect Canada-U.S. relations—and the political mood in Canada itself—Maclean's asked several Canadian experts for their views. Excerpts from those interviews.

University of Toronto political economist and author of *Canada and the Reagan Challenge*, Stephen Clarkson: I think we should take seriously political shifts in the United States, because they do have an impact on Canadian political thinking. One thing that would reduce the impact is that the Democrats don't seem to have got their intellectual act together at all. So you can't say that because the Democrats are in control of the Senate any policy consequences follow. It's pretty hard to know what the Democrats would do. A lot of these Democrats are as politically conservative as the Republicans they are replacing. I don't think—except on the trade question, and to some extent foreign policy—that the agenda will change a great deal.

As far as inspiring changes in Canadian politics, there is, to be sure, an important link between the Conservative and Republican parties. If the Republicans have peaked in the United States, then their influence on the Conservatives might start to decline. You get quite a strong ideological influence on the Conservative party coming from the Republican model, which has led to a historic shift in the Conservative party's position from being the pro-British party to being the pro-American party, from being the suspect party to being the mainstream party. Clearly, Mulroney sees Reagan as a model. With Reagan in a loose dock, it makes Mulroney's Canadian-American strategy—which leaned very heavily on the President as its base—look for some other kind of base.

University of Alberta political scientist Larry Pratt: Political shifts in the United States have an effect on Canadian politics, both in the bilateral sense and in the kind of realignments in American politics that change American foreign and economic policy. I think that the biggest shift in recent years was in 1980, because that really

brought to an end the liberal internationalist policies of the United States, which had reigned pretty much since the late 1960s. I think the Reaganites represented a really fundamental change that I would describe as a shift from multilateralism to global unilateralism. That has created a real breach within the Western community

economic impact. We still have the advantage of a free trader in the White House. But he may not have the eligibility to deal with the protectionist forces. I think protectionism will prevail in the United States until their trade deficit fades, no matter what party controls the political agenda. I don't see a similar protectionist



Mulroney and Reagan at 1985 summit; cyclical swings in political opinion

We are in a difficult situation with a power that is militarily very powerful and economically in decline. As long as the American trade imbalance and the deficit are as large as they are, I think it's difficult to see us returning to fairly good economic relations. The Democrats are more protectionist. I think that a free trade agreement with Canada is way down on their list of priorities. The so-called neoliberal Democrats are just as hard-line on foreign policy as the Reaganites. These things cut across party lines. This is the kind of power that we have to put up with.

Quebec Minister of International Trade and Technology Pierre MacDonell: The election results do not sugar well for Canadian-U.S. relations over the next two years, particularly over trade issues. It worries us because American political changes have a tremendous trend spreading to Quebec or Canada. We take our political cues from the United States to a certain degree, but access to foreign markets is just too important for us to start a process of neutralizing. Still, Canada is susceptible to the same cyclical swings in political opinion. More conservative governments have emerged because voters on both sides of the border perceived that the probability of state intervention in the economy had swung sufficiently to one side. Quebec's political conversion was delayed because the more conservative Parti Québécois was still in power here, and we had to await an election to effect the changes that the population wanted. In that regard, Quebec politicians were influenced as much by the example set by [British Prime Minister Margaret] Thatcher as by President Reagan. □



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Keep with wife, Joanne, Hart (below) would-be candidates jockeying for position

PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS

COVER

Jack Keep, the ambitious Republican congressman from New York, was going to wait at least until next year. But with the buoyant mood of campaign workers who were celebrating his comfortable reelection last week, he decided to wait no longer. At a victory gathering that began in Buffalo, even before the final returns were in, Keep told cheering supporters that he hoped that they would not mind if "we're thinking about 1988." With that, the right-wing politician dropped his strongest hint to

candidates got off to an unusually early start. Indeed, in August, Midwestern Republicans held a complicated new primary vote—the first step in determining how the state's 17 delegates to the party's 1988 national convention will be apportioned among the candidates. That primary—in which Vice-President George Bush and television evangelist Marjorie (Pat) Robertson both claimed victory—came 15 months before the scheduled Iowa party caucus that traditionally signals the start of the presidential nomination process. As last week's congressional results poured in, they afforded an opportunity to weigh the impact on the looming presidential race.

Legality. So far, Bush enjoys the lead in the Republican race. A sampling of Republican polled last week for *The New York Times* and *CNN* News gave Bush 34 per cent, 30 points more than his nearest rival, Senator Robert Dole of Kansas. Bush is believed to have the private loyal-

ty of Reagan and much of the White House staff. Still, last week's election results suggested that Reagan's backers might not carry as much weight as it once did. Said Republican party pollster Kevin Phillips: "This has to give George Bush concern. This election suggests that the federal tide is moving away from what Bush and Reagan represent."

Setbacks. Although Dole resigned his seat, he also suffered a setback. The new Democratic dominance of the Senate means that he will no longer reign as Senate majority leader. But Dole's loss of status could carry a hidden benefit: Said Howard Penman, a director of the Washington-based American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research: "It means he now has time to go out and work the election trail rather than spend his time in the Senate."

For retiring Nevada Senator Paul Leavitt, 64, there was no other living in last week's Congressional results. A close personal friend of Reagan's, he had long been touted as a potential successor. But despite Leavitt's vigorous campaigning on behalf of Nevada Senate candidate James Sargent, Democratic rival Harry Reid won the race. That abruptly ended speculation that Leavitt would still make a run for the White House.

Crisis. For the Democrats, the outlook was even murkier. Party pollster Paul Munkin insisted that the midterm results showed that "if we have a good candidate and a good message as a party, we can win the presidency and take control of the country." But the crucial problem for the Democrats may be in coming up with a winning candidate. Indeed, 33 per cent of the Democrats polled by *The New York Times* and *CNN* News rejected the pollsters' seven choices of candidates. The current front-runner, retiring Colorado Senator Gary Hart, received only 36 per cent support, compared to 30 per cent for New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. One dark-horse Democratic candidate is Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey. He is a former professional basketball star and, so well, he intends to use the issue of tax reform as a springboard to the national prominence any candidate requires.

With both party nominations still wide open, the main objective of the contenders will be building up war chests and staking out issues. Minded of the midterm election results, observers said that Republican and Democratic hopefuls alike will strive to accommodate the new mood of the electorate. Said the pollster Phillips of last week's election: "It moves both parties into the post-Reagan era and into a spirited competition for the centre of American politics."

—IAN KESTEN in Washington



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Freedom for a hostage



Jacobson (left) with sons and their wives in Wiesbaden. Joy tempered by the thought of five more captives in Beirut

Visibly tearful, David Jacobson stood on the balcony of a United States military hospital in Wiesbaden, West Germany, posing for photographers. He hugged each of his three children, who removed the bracelets they had worn symbolically since their father was taken hostage in Lebanon 17 months earlier. But Jacobson's joy at his unexpected release last week was tempered by the fact that five other Americans remained hostage in Beirut. "Stay around here," the 55-year-old Jacobson told reporters, "because I hope to God they will be standing here in this spot very soon." Terry White, the special envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury who had helped to negotiate Jacobson's release, predicted that further releases might be imminent. But two days later, instead of returning to Beirut, White flew to London in disappointment (page 44). In the glare of media attention, he noted the delicate negotiations had broken down and "it may take some time before my com-

ments come to the surface again."

What came to the surface last week was a complicated, clandestine and still-secretly effort to free the hostages, a story that went beyond White's role to include many elements of a thriller—and a few of broad comedy. It involved the government of Iran, whose Islamic leaders are allied with the kidnappers in Lebanon and who, at the same time, are embroiled in an internal power struggle while the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini has seriously ill. It involved a bizarre mission to Iran by five U.S. envoys reportedly disguised as a flight crew and carrying a cake and a Bible signed by President Ronald Reagan. And it involved reports that in exchange for help in freeing the hostages—and the hope of gaining influence in a post-Khomeini Iran—the United States has begun selling spare military parts to Tehran, which desperately needs them for the American-made weapons being used in the war with Iraq.

The United States banned such sales

in 1979 after Iranians seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, and Washington officially denied last week that the arms sale had resumed. But as the week wore on, the evidence mounted. Akhbarian Bani-Sadr, the former Iranian president now in exile in Paris, said that the United States has been delivering arms to Iran for many months. U.S. press reports, quoting unidentified sources, said that in the operation, run by the National Security Council, Washington delivered some cargo and encouraged third parties, notably Israel, to make similar deliveries. And those shipments, the reports said, were linked to the release not only of Jacobson but of Ben Benjamin Witz in September, 1985, and Ray Lawrence Jenco last July in response, though said that such reports were "making it more difficult for us to get the other hostages free."

The hostage drama had its origin in 1984, when Arab extremists in Beirut began kidnaping Americans. Before Jacobson's release, four hostages had man-

aged to gain their freedom—through rescue, escape or escape—and two had reportedly been killed. That left five. The identity of the kidnappers of two of them remained uncertain. But the Islamic Jihad, or Holy War, led by Jacobson, hospital director at the American University in Beirut, 39-year-old Terry Anderson, Midwest correspondent for The Associated Press, and 55-year-old

had flown to Beirut, and the next day the two men took off for Larnaca, Cyprus, then on to West Germany. At week's end, Jacobson flew to Washington.

Yet despite White's hints that Anderson and Suberlin might be next, there were no more releases last week. White would not say what went wrong, although when asked about alleged Iranian, American and Syrian negotia-



Say (right): her brother, Anderson (below) another week of disappointment

Thomas Suberlin, dean of agriculture at the American University. The three were kept in the basement of a Beirut apartment building—and were reportedly beaten. In exchange for their release, the kidnappers demanded freedom for 17 Islamic terrorists imprisoned in Kuwait. But the Reagan administration insisted that it would not negotiate with terrorists.

The first sign of a breakthrough came on Oct. 31 when White, who had previously negotiated hostage releases in Iran, Libya and Lebanon, announced from Cyprus that the hostage situation was "moving." Two days later Jacobson, riding in a convoy of American Embassy and Lebanese army vehicles, crossed from Mission West Beirut into Chacira East Beirut and arrived at the U.S. Embassy. There he met White, who

was over the hostages, he said, "There are a lot of people trying to make political capital, there are a lot of people trying to sabotage honest and straightforward efforts." And in a burst of frustration, he said press speculation he was representing governments had complicated negotiations—and could even have "cost me my life."

In fact, some U.S. officials said that White was a cover for his own secret negotiations with Tehran. U.S. sources said that U.S.-Col. Oliver North, a member of the National Security Council staff, has made about a dozen trips to Europe and the Middle East over the past two years to meet with possible intermediaries. Traveling in disguise, North contacted leaders in

Iran. That connection led to the strange American mission to Tehran, which reportedly took place in September and involved Robert McFarlane, who resigned as Reagan's national security adviser in December and is now a professor for the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University.

The most widely quoted account of the mission came from Hajjuddin Hashemi Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Iranian parliament, in a speech marking the seventh anniversary of the takeover of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and reported by the Iranian press agency. As Rafsanjani told it, McFarlane and four other U.S. envoys, traveling on Irish passports, flew to Tehran on a plane carrying military equipment which Iran had bought from (international) dealers. They also had more unusual cargo: the Bible containing a verse written by Reagan about the closeness of different religions, a tape-recorded message of the key to a reconstruction of U.S.-Iranian relations, and Col. North's "Get the [security] kids were hungry and ate the cake," Rafsanjani said. And as for the Colts, the Iranian said, "Why did he bring pistols? What we need is more sophisticated weapons."

According to Rafsanjani, the Americans were kept under guard in a Tehran hotel. Rafsanjani added that when Khomeini was told about their arrival, the Iranian leader said, "Don't talk to them and don't receive their message." Rafsanjani said that McFarlane, furious that he could not meet with Iranian leaders, said, "You are sick. We have come to solve your problems but this is how you treat us." After five days, Rafsanjani said, the Americans were expelled from the country.

Reagan refused comment on the Iranian account and McFarlane would say only that there had been "very successful" reports of his role. A source close to McFarlane and that was made purpose of his trip was not to negotiate for the hostages' release but to increase U.S. influence in Iran. In any case, analysts said that McFarlane landed in the middle of an internal Iranian power struggle. The 59-year-old Khomeini, who according to U.S. intelligence reports may recently have suffered a severe heart attack, has designated the Ayatollah Hassan Ali Montazeri as his successor. A forthrightly hard-liner, Montazeri is devoted to continuing the war with Iraq and fostering Islamic revolution. He favors Persian Gulf states. But Khomeini's sources say that more moderate Iranian leaders, including Rafsanjani, want to step the effort to export revolution, to improve relations with the superpowers and to concentrate on building



White (right) with Jacobson

as Iran. Those leaders may be trying to limit Montazeri's influence. In October, Mehdi Hashemi, the brother of Montazeri's son-in-law and the head of the bureau that handles Iran's relations with Islamic revolutionary groups, was arrested on charges of treason and murder.

But when McFarlane visited Tehran in September, Hashemi was still powerful, and according to some U.S. sources he may have scuttled the suggestions McFarlane had hoped to conduct. The internal battle may also have played a role last week, when the Lebanese magazine *Al-Shiraa* carried the first report linking the Iranian squabbling with the hostage issue in Lebanon, as well as the first public mention of McFarlane's trip. Experts speculate that the report may have embarrassed Hashemi, forcing him to back away from his moderate stance and tell the McFarlane story in tones of pure defiance. He also set out militant demands for letting "our Lebanese friends know our views"—and releasing the remaining American hostages and some French citizens. The headlines included an end to U.S. and French hostility toward Iran, the delivery of U.S. military supplies bought before the Iranian revolution but frozen after it, and the release of Lebanese prisoners in Kuwait and Israel.

Those demands were disheartening not only to U.S. officials but to the most involved Americans: the hostages' families. Peggy Ray, sister of hostage Terry Anderson, has become a determined campaigner for her brother's behalf. A 48-year-old mother of two, she has traveled from her home in Bolivia, in upstate New York, to Washington and even the Middle East. Her goal, she says, is "to get word through to Terry that we haven't forgotten him." That is a possible she adds is her father and her father, who have both died of cancer since Anderson was kidnapped 38 months ago.

Last week, as reports circulated that Anderson might be freed soon after Jacobson, Ray was careful not to get her hopes up. "We have been this close before," she told reporters gathered outside her small white house, where weathered yellow ribbons symbolizing fidelity to a missing loved one flapped in the breeze. "We have tempered ourselves to live with disappointment." More disappointment was followed for the families when the U.S. government. The question was whether the sort of secret U.S.-Iranian arrangements that apparently freed Jacobson can be repeated as the world watches.

Waite's new diplomacy

On the terms of Lebanese shirps, two Communist armies can keep themselves at bay. But even from 100 meters away, the imposing figure of Terry Waite—six-foot, seven-inches and bearded—was unmistakable as he stepped out of a U.S. embassy car and into a helicopter on his way to Beirut. The next morning Waite, the special



Waite "very much a question of creative mediation."

every of the Archbishop of Canterbury, returned to Cyprus—and at his side was American hostage David Jacobson. The Waite magic had worked again. "I'm not just a mediator," Waite told *Macmillan's*. "It is very much a question of creative mediation."

In essence, 47-year-old Waite has fashioned a new type of diplomacy: neopolitical and neodiplomatic, with his church position certifying his independence and honesty, allowing him to appeal to both sides as humanitarian grounds. A politician's son from Chichester in northwest England, Waite held church posts in Africa and Italy before taking the Canterbury position in 1980 that thrust him suddenly into the limelight. His first dramatic success came the following year, when he negotiated the release of three Anglican missionaries held in Iran. In Feb-


ruary last year he persuaded Libyan strongman Muammar Gaddafi to free four Americans, and the following September he helped win the release of a U.S. missionary from Lebanon.

Beyond his Christian credentials, Waite's secret seems to lie in his personal qualities. His height gives him a commanding presence, and his directness and humor add the business touch. Diplomats in the Middle East say that he is also a skilled negotiator who can master the intricate details of a delicate situation, and he does exhaustive research on the people involved. Waite says that he established a rapport with Gaddafi by presenting him with a book on Aristotle and the Arabs, and discussing relations between Christians and Muslims in Africa. And Waite: "I really do believe that we all have elements of good and bad in us. What I do is to appeal to their better side, and they usually respond."

Some reporters complain that Waite is a publicity-seeker. At times, such behavior can be productive, when Waite first went to Beirut in 1985, he was the media to appeal to the anonymous Islamic Jihad kidnappers in contact him. But sometimes his penchant for publicity causes problems. In the Jacobson case, Waite phoned news agencies in Beirut to say that "something major is happening"—then spent two days dodging newsmen who flew in from around the world. Early this year he even crossed the line into pure show business, doing a brief—and disastrous—stunt as the host of a London TV talk show.

Waite's marriage have brought him fame but not fortune. His salary is believed to be around \$30,000, not much on which to support a wife and four children, and his home in suburban London is modest. He has turned down numerous chances to tell his story to newspapers or publishers. Perhaps the most surprising verdict as Waite comes from the hostages themselves. After his release last week, Jacobson called Waite "a man of hope in our darkest hour." Added Jacobson: "We really love this guy."

—JIM MUELLER in Beirut



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the gross system, under which the president is chosen by the 5000 members of an electoral college.

Chun's government has proposed that after Chun steps down, the office of president should be reduced to figurehead status. Real political power would, along British lines, be vested in the prime minister as head of a cabinet responsible to a democratically elected legislature. Some political observers say that the real purpose of Chun's proposal is to split the vote, which was nearly as many seats as the DUP in last year's National Assembly election. Certainly Chun's rival, Kim Dae-jung, a flamboyant politician who has a wide popular following, might have more to gain from a U.S.-style presidency. Said a Canadian diplomat: "Kim Young-sam is probably stronger within the party. But Kim Dae-jung has a national charisma that would benefit him in a direct presidential contest."

Outwardly, the two Kim clans seem to be united in their rejection of the government proposal. Kim Dae-jung insisted that under the government's plan Chun would be able to manipulate assembly elections and determine the choice of cabinet ministers, prime minister and president. In South Korea, Kim Dae-jung told *Modern's*, "every government official from prime minister to village clerk is named and counseled by the president. By showing government power and money, they can easily manipulate the assembly."

Kim Dae-jung also claimed that the real reason Chun's government opposes direct presidential elections is that it fears he would win 5411. Kim's political opponents have probably been effectively blocked by a suspended 20-year prison sentence he received for allegedly twisting student riots in 1980. He is technically under house arrest and forbidden from taking part in political activity.

In an effort to break the constitutional impasse, Kim Dae-jung and last week that if the government agreed on direct presidential elections, he would

not run for office. Kim Bong Hyun, a senior official of the bar, added tersely: "Dae-jung is largely discredited from running for president. His statement doesn't mean much." At the same time, students have criticized both Kim for opposing conservative policies—and for getting personal ambition above political principles.

The stridently anti-American favor and Marxist content of student pro-

testers' complaints that the country's economic growth has largely benefited the 30 largest conglomerates in the country—known as the *chaebol* (conglomerates)—which control more than 60 per cent of the economy. Yet most South Koreans earn only between \$300 and \$322 a month. As a result, some student leaders favor the Communist North, where, noted a 1987 leader, there is "at least economic equality in education, medical treatment, food, housing and clothes." The radicals also brand Japan, the main supplier of technology to South Korea, and the United States—the nation's largest export market—as economic "tyrants."

Anti-Americanism has other roots in South Korea. Citizens blame Washington for supporting a succession of military dictatorships that have ruled South Korea. And opponents of the Chun government have not forgotten that when South Korean soldiers gunned down 230 civilian protesters in 1980 at Kwangju in southwestern Korea, some of the troops involved had been released for what the government called "internal security" duty from the joint U.S.-South Korea force that guards the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea.

With South Korea's political opposition leaders divided, the role of the students could prove crucial in the outcome of the nation's growing crisis—as it often has in the past. They resisted Japanese rule over Korea between 1910 and 1945. And in 1960 massive student demonstrations succeeded in toppling strong man Syngman Rhee from the presidency. For his part, Kim Dae-jung has warned Chun not to seize on student radicalism as an excuse for delaying political reforms. Noting that South Korea already has about 2,500 political prisoners, Kim declared that rather than "show such repressive rule, I think 20,000 or even 100,000 Koreans would be willing to go to prison."

—MARK NORMAN with PETER MUGILL in Seoul



Kim Dae-jung; Chun (below) attempts to break a constitutional impasse



testers has introduced as alienating new elements into the South Korean political equation. In part, that is a byproduct of the nation's stunning economic success. Over the past two decades South Korea has grown from an impoverished nation with a farm-based economy into the world's 12th-largest exporter, whose automobiles, home computers, and video recorders now compete with Japanese products in North American markets.

But student leaders echo Kim Dae-

Show Your Stripes!

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TONIGHT

Failure in Vienna

It was the first high-level meeting between U.S. and Soviet officials since last month's summit discussions in Iceland, which broke down after coming tantalizingly close to agreement on a sweeping arms-control package. But when U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze met in Vienna last week, they failed to agree even on what understandings had been reached in Reykjavik. And as in the earlier talks, disagreement over the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or Star Wars, proved to be the stumbling block. Shultz told a news conference that the meetings had not "moved arms-control matters along in any significant way, and I regret this." For his part, Shev-



Shultz and Shevardnadze: the talks left a bitter taste

vardnadze declared that the talks had "left us with a bitter taste."

Earlier both Shultz and Shevardnadze addressed the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which opened in Vienna last week. The task of conference delegates was to review the compliance of 35 countries to

the 1975 Helsinki Accords—signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, Canada and all European states except Albania—which laid down human-rights requirements. Visibly somber after a long night of disappointing returns in the U.S. media, Shevardnadze delivered a fast speech in which he blamed the Soviets for the failure at Reykjavik and rebuffed U.S. demands for Communist-bloc human-rights guarantees.

In sharp contrast to that, Shevardnadze's speech was a masterly piece of rhetoric. The Soviet foreign minister said that the locked summit could have been "a turning point" in Europe's "advance toward a nuclear-free world." He added that the intent of his visit was "to release the spare parts from the test tube as soon as possible in order to open military sovereignty." Shevardnadze also endorsed himself to some Austrians by paying a visit to President Karl Waldbrunn, the former United Nations secretary-general whose Second World War record in the German army is under scrutiny.

Although the Shultz-Shevardnadze meetings occupied the spotlight, Western conference delegates found the opportunity to denounce Soviet human-rights abuses, while Eastern-bloc representatives pressed for nuclear missile cuts in Europe. Neutral and nonaligned nations concentrated on economic and cultural co-operation. Observers said that the tenor of the Vienna meeting resembled that of two previous review conferences in Belgrade and Madrid, which dragged on for years and ended inconclusively.

Meanwhile, hundreds of united Soviet dissidents and human-rights activists gathered in Vienna last week to remind delegates what the Helsinki Accords were about. Among them was American Andrei Wine, 34, of the London-based Doves for Spies for Freedom. Wine said that the huge task, as a consensus during conference sessions continuing until next summer, Moscow will allow her Russian husband of one year to join her in the West.

Also on hand was Yuri Orlov, a prominent Soviet dissident freed by Moscow last month, who came to demand the release of fellow dissidents like physicist Andrei Sakharov. For his part, in his conference address Shultz asked of the Soviets, "If they don't adhere to the treaties they have already signed, how can we trust them to respect treaties we have signed on paper?" Shultz's acute comment crystallized the theme—and discouraging—situation that prevailed in Vienna last week.

—EILEEN MCKENZIE and
KEE WATERSMAN in Vienna

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Canadian tycoons under attack

The family was largely unknown outside Canada until the late 1970s. But a series of attempted takeovers in the United States by the financial empire controlled by the Belzbergs of Vancouver quickly attracted the attention of Wall Street. In recent years bids by the three Belzberg brothers—Samuel, Hyman and William—usually resulted in the target company buying back the stake held by the brothers and in the process providing them with a handsome profit. But that method of operation has sparked controversy in the American investment community. To some, the Belzbergs are astute businessmen and masters of the stock market. Others, however, take a more critical view. They claim that the brothers, led by Samuel, are so-called promissory-investors who in effect have no intention of actually acquiring a company but rather hold a target company's management to ransom with the threat of a hostile takeover. Often the result is that either a rival acquirer or the target company itself buys back the promoter's stock holding at highly inflated prices.

Currently, the Belzbergs' daring business methods are under close U.S. scrutiny—what raises the Belzbergs are acquiring a large block of the shares of GM Corp., the largest independent telephone company in the country. The Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), the Washington-based federal agency that regulates U.S. stock markets, launched a court case on Aug. 25, charging that the family's now holding company, First City Financial Corp., broke U.S. law when it made a \$3.7-million stock profit on an attempted takeover earlier this year. The suit names First City vice-president Marc Belzberg, the son of Samuel, as the case that will be heard in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia.

The charges result from First City's unrelenting bid for Kentucky-



Samuel Belzberg controversy over a stock buy

based Ashland Oil Inc. last March. Even before the suit action, the attempted takeover was one of the most controversial made in the United States by the Belzbergs. When the family's intentions became clear, Ashland executives quickly turned to the Kentucky legislature for help. They told the state's politicians that acquisition by the Belzbergs could mean hundreds of lost jobs, and the assembly quickly passed special legislation to block First City.

That obstacle led to a lucrative settlement between the Belzbergs and

Ashland. The oil company repurchased the 9.2 per cent of its shares held by First City—creating a \$29.7-million pretax profit for the Canadians. It was the second share buy-back involving the family in one month—and it reinforced the view, Wall Street observers think the Belzbergs were indeed greenmailers. But the SEC charges hinge on another aspect of the attempt. The agency claims that in order to buy up the Ashland stock at undervalued prices, First City did not follow a U.S. law that requires early disclosure of large stock purchases. Those regulations require that any purchase of more than five per cent of a company's shares must be reported within 30 days. But the suit claims that First City did not report its purchases for 33 days. The law is designed to prevent insiders from reaping the benefits of share price rises, usually caused by large-scale stock purchases.

In a statement to the court, the SEC said that in early February Samuel and Marc Belzberg began to look at Ashland's shares and found them undervalued. First City began buying stock on Feb. 11 and by the end of that month it had gained a 49-per-cent holding in Ashland—slightly under the five-per-cent disclosure level.

Then, according to the suit, Marc Belzberg called Alan Greenberg, the chief executive officer of Bear Stearns & Co. Inc., one of Wall Street's largest brokerage firms, on March 4. A week earlier Belzberg had phoned Greenberg to order

some Ashland shares. However, the suit on the basis of documents it gathered and testimony and statements from Greenberg and others—claims that the early March call was different. The agency charges that Belzberg asked the brokerage firm chief to buy up more Ashland shares, but not immediately. Instead, order in First City. Instead, the stock was to be held in Bear Stearns' name until First City had made its bid public.

Marc Belzberg presented investors with a completely different realities of the telephone call, ac-

cording to the SEC. The 31-year-old Belzberg said that he called Greenberg only to suggest that Bear Stearns might want to pick up some Ashland shares for itself because he considered them a good buy. The suit rejects Belzberg's claim in its court submission. It adds that Greenberg's firm immediately began buying up Ashland shares and regularly reported to Belzberg over the next two weeks.

By March 14, Bear Stearns had picked up \$39,790 Ashland shares. Three days later Belzberg phoned Greenberg and asked if he wanted to unload the stock. Greenberg, in his testimony to investigators, recalled that he laughed when he replied, "Yeah, I want to sell it." First City acquired the shares for \$61 each, despite the fact they were trading on the market for \$63. According to the SEC, the price was part of an already existing arrangement between Bear Stearns and First City, during the share price in the brokerage house's acquisition cost plus a small markup. Added the SEC statement: "It is not the usual practice for someone to be able to purchase stock for substantially less than its market price." But Belzberg testified that this is exactly what happened. He said that First City had been given the discount—worth about \$630,000—for being a good customer.

The public disclosure form announcing First City's purchase of 9.2 per cent of Ashland was submitted on March 27—and the SEC contends that it was due on March 14. When the disclosure becomes known, the oil company's shares soared in value by 10 per cent. The suit now wants the court to force First City and Belzberg to return the \$4.5-million profit it reaped by waiting for disclosure and to order them never to break similar disclosure laws again. That kind of order would place a future violation in contempt of court, a far more serious charge than a securities violation.

The suit is still trying to collect documents and question possible witnesses. As a result, the court's decision will not come for some time. But last week the Belzberg side presented an optimistic face. Through a spokesman, Marc Belzberg issued a statement in which he said that he is "confident of the outcome" of the case. The evidence he presented in court, the statement said, "shows that there was no agreement with Bear Stearns but a total and honest misunderstanding."

—SARAH SHULTEN in Washington with LARRY SHANK in New York



Smith, wrapping shutdowns, thousands of jobs and a blow for the heartland

End of an automotive era

For America, it is the end of an era. Ever since Model T first rolled off the assembly line in 1908 in Detroit, the American auto industry has powered the industrial heartland of the United States. And more than any other company, General Motors Corp.—the country's largest automaker and its largest corporation—represented the prosperity and strength of American business. But with the auto industry's severe recession in the early 1980s, a different climate prevailed for the so-called Big Three automakers—GM, Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp., all based in Detroit. Although Chrysler and Ford undertook painful restructuring in recent years, GM attempted to do business as it had always done. The result is a shrinking share of car sales in the United States and a string of record losses for the third quarter of 1984. Last week GM chairman Roger B. Smith announced that his company would close 11 plants of its 149 plants and warehouses in the United States and lay off 28,000 people in an attempt to regain efficiency and profitability.

Smith said the plant shutdowns, which will be completed by 1990, will save the company \$800 million a year and be needed to design a new model for production at a plant in St. Therese, Gas., and some observers say that the plant may fall in the west coast of shutdowns. But, said analyst Joseph, "Canada has come out very nicely in GM's decision to retrench and expand."

—PATRICIA ROSE with THOMAS TELUSCO in Toronto

Victory on a wide field

It was a civilised meeting of two gentlemen after a tough Canadian development: Robert Campeau, 62, retired at the executive rooftop Sky Club in downtown Manhattan shortly before 7 p.m. on Friday, Oct. 21, to dine as the guest of Thomas Munroe, chief executive of New York-based Allied Stores Corp. Only minutes earlier Campeau and Munroe had signed a \$4.8-billion agreement to merge Campeau Corp. and Allied, the fourth-largest chain retailer in the United States. Munroe had fought the takeover since it was announced last September, bringing in another bidder and arguing shareholders to reject Campeau's offer. But last week, Campeau, who had always projected a friendly merger, sounded magnanimous in victory. "Mr. Munroe is a gentleman, he conducted a class fight," he told Munroe's "I have a lot of respect for him, and I think he has a lot of respect for me."

Campeau has earned the distinction of completing the largest-ever takeover or investment in a U.S. company by a Canadian. The record had been held by Montreal's diversified Seagram Co., which in 1961 paid \$3.4 billion for 26 per cent of E.I. du Pont de Nemours,

the U.S. chemical giant. Still, Campeau's bid for Allied was at first dismissed by many New York stock market analysts, who said that his much smaller company could not afford to buy the big retailer. Allied's \$5.7-billion revenues in 1986 were 21 times greater than Campeau Corp.'s, which

With the takeover of Allied, Campeau has carved out a prominent place for himself on the American business scene

stood at \$215 million. But the bid succeeded because Campeau had the backing of powerful and innovative investment bankers and stockbrokers. For Campeau, added analyst David Tiger of Toronto-based Burns Fry Ltd., "it will mean his stock goes to \$100 [per share] by 1990, from its present level of \$28. It's a hell of a deal."

With the purchase of Allied, Sudbury, Ont.-born Campeau has carved out a prominent place for himself on

the American business scene. Allied owns 24 retail stores that operate 563 stores across the United States, including the high-profile Brooks Brothers and Horne's Teller chains. And because Allied has provided the main department store in several of its shopping centres, Campeau will play a powerful and pivotal role in future mall developments.

Munroe and Allied's board of directors repeatedly challenged Campeau's takeover offers in the courts. They also brought in U.S. shopping mall magazine Edward J. DeBartolo, who owns 51 regional malls, to make a competing bid. But the battle's climax came on Oct. 24, when Campeau said that he was withdrawing a \$20-per-share bid for 80 per cent of Allied's stock. Only minutes after the early-morning announcement, Los Angeles stockbroker Jeffries & Co. offered to sell Campeau 48 per cent of Allied's stock for \$2.4 billion.

Those shares, which in dollar value were the largest single block ever to be traded over a stock exchange in the United States, were owned by 80 different stockholders who hoped to make a quick profit on the sale. Campeau bought the shares through the Cincinnati Stock Exchange. Combined with his own 50-per-cent holding in Allied, he controlled 58 per cent of the

retailer. Allied challenged the purchase, claiming that it was an illegal tender offer, but the U.S. federal court ruled in Campeau's favour, forcing Allied's capitulation.

But the takeover battlefield has not always been as kind to the franco-phonian Campeau. A costume mailman who left school after Grade 8 and began a house-building business in Ottawa 28 years ago, he has lost several takeover attempts. His most crushing defeat came in 1981, when he tried to buy Royal Trustco Ltd. of Toronto. That bid was blocked after a group of Bay Street businessmen bought large blocks of Royal Trustco stock. The Toronto establishment, Campeau said, did not like his style. But in the United States, Campeau added, "it's totally different. There, the market governs the game."

Indeed, Campeau could have lost his bid for Allied had the takeover been waged using Canadian investment rules. The crucial block of shares traded on Oct. 24 would have been scrutinised and might have been disallowed. Said James Torrance, general counsel of the Ontario Securities Commission: "I think the commission would be very uncomfortable with that [trade]."

Last week Campeau openly stated that the United States is more welcoming to entrepreneurs. "The best



Campeau: a general after the trade

well-wished by as many U.S. executives that it's just even. Sorry," Campeau told Munroe's. "There hasn't been one Canadian executive who has called me. That's the difference."

Other Canadian companies are attempting to follow Campeau's success. In example, in late October Toronto-based Peoples Jewellers Ltd., for one, launched its fourth bid in 24 months for control of Texas-based Zale Corp., the country's largest jewellery retailer. People's joined forces with Switzerland's Swarovski International Holding to offer \$700 million for the family-owned firm.

For his part, Campeau must now pay for his \$4.8-billion purchase. To raise the money, Campeau said that Allied will soon offer a new stock issue worth \$1.5 billion. To an effort to raise another \$1.4 billion, Campeau plans to sell five or six of Allied's retail chains and then sell Allied's six shopping centres to his company's Canadian real-estate division. The remaining \$1 billion will be financed through new and existing bond issues. The expensive takeover is a hefty price to pay for joining the ranks of the U.S. business elite—but it is a tab that Robert Campeau is more than willing to pick up.

—ANN SORRELLA in Toronto



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New openness in the U.S.S.R.

By Peter C. Newman

One of the main signs that a very different and just a new age has been taken over is the Kremlin line on the willingness of well-informed Soviet economists to admit that the USSR is pushing forward something resembling a market economy, a freedom that was strictly forbidden before. Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. Last week Dr. Andrei Arkin, head of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations at Moscow's Academy of Sciences, paid a rare visit to Canada. The author of six books and a professor of theoretical economics at the University of Moscow, he persuaded me with the following text, shortened here for reasons of space:

Our country has created a powerful modern economy, in its size second only to that of the United States, but during the past 15 years unfavorable stagnation-type phenomena have been evidently growing in the economic and social fields. One cannot say they were not observed, not spoken about, but not much was being done either. Only in 1985-1986 has a complex analysis of these phenomena been made and an efficient program of their liquidation worked out.

The most general and striking consequence of the unfavorable development of the economy over this period has been the fall in the rate of economic growth. Continuation of this trend would lead to a gradual erosion of the main objective functions that tend to hinder the growth of the economy and lower the yields of production. Among them are the worsening of conditions of production of minerals and fuels, the shift of industry to the north and the east, and high expenditures on the creation of infrastructure facilities. The most serious consequences of the crisis have been the unemployment and increasing deterioration of possibilities created by the national and economic system. Two important factors, the loss of the national and the prevailing psychology, both in the centre and elsewhere, will be to try to accomplish things without changing anything in substance. This situation will lead to a further erosion of the national and economic infrastructure, and to the loss of the most important, favorable objectives.

To judge the degree of radicality of the changes that have taken place and are contemplated, attention should be drawn to N. S. Gorbachev's statement on July 31, 1988, where he called those changes a real revolution in the whole

system of social relations, in the people's psychology, in the understanding of the contemporary period, especially of the role and problems of technical progress. The word revolution is not habitually used in our country.

Acceleration means first of all raising economic growth. But it is subordinated to the solution of strategic social problems—to the goal of raising the quality of life. The main task is to pull up the level of living of the population.

flexible enough. It does not create material and prestige incentives for successful individual and team work. It means that there is a gap between scientific ideas and their practical use. In this field, Soviet specialists are ready to borrow foreign experience that is applicable to our system. Some of my colleagues study the American practice of venture business and methods of financing research and design work.

There will be no reforms containing any concessions to capitalism, no retreat from the basic principles of socialism such as public property of the means of production, centralized planning, promotion of socioeconomic equality and security. But what is new introduced is not a wartime reform but a system of changes gradually embracing an ever broader sphere.

Current economic reform is conceived in conjunction with corresponding changes in public life and psychology. In particular, present trends are for greater publicity, more criticism and initiative. They emphasize the fight against bureaucratism and administration by more initiatives.

These steps are taken to stimulate individual, family and small co-operative labor activity. The business in question is production of food and other goods on home plots of land, supply of various everyday services and small public catering outlets. There are no objections of principle to this form of organization of labor and use of the available productive potential. Collective farms will receive much greater freedom to dispose of their produce at their discretion, including sale at flexible prices dictated by the market.

In conformity with the general direction of economic reform, the methods used in the sphere of external economic relations will become an organic part of the operations of an enterprise or association. The leading idea is to make results of export and import business an important factor of the level of profitability and, to a certain extent, of direct bonuses and different social fringe benefits of the employees—from high managers to rank-and-file workers.

Big associations regulated by industrial ministries will now have direct links with their foreign counterparts. It means that industry will have much greater autonomy in decision-making, involving exports and imports based on economic considerations.

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PEOPLE

When Toronto model **Suzie Power** learned that her boyfriend, Terry Neilson, would be in Australia for six months as skipper of Canada's entry in the America's Cup yachting race, she decided to work there too. Now, after numerous appearances in Australian newspaper ads, fashion magazine spreads and TV commercials, her face is familiar throughout that country. She says that modeling in Australia offers advertising, including speaking parts in TV commercials. Added the 26-year-old Power: "In Toronto they feel that models can't talk and walk at the same time."

Wyoming Gov. Ed Hercherl once said that he thought Canadian rock 'n' roll singer **Neil Young** was a fiddle player with a country band. But this week the governor is scheduled to make the 41-year-old performer an honorary citizen of his state. The tribute is far a benefit concert Young gave last year for Cheyenne, Wyo., victims of a flood. Wyoming planners for emergency management **Jerry Ruk** initiated the benefit, said he knew that Neil was a humanist months after the concert, and Hercherl had a heart attack, a hip and went flower.

Cyber: 'a historical' from Moscow



For the former Miles guitarist Paul Jones it was "a dream come true"—legendarily miser star Bob Dylan playing guitar with him and his band at recent Toronto club date. Dylan, who has declined to give media interviews during a five-week recuperating stay in the city, was invited to see the band by a mutual friend. Dylan managed to stay under wraps until he stepped onstage. And Jones: "We introduced him as a hitchhiker from Vancouver." After the show, Jones said that they played guitar together over coffee, asking, "We made all those plays he made that he wants to trophies for him on his next tour?"

Scottish film director **Bill Forsyth** is breaking new ground while making *Monteropino* in Nelson, B.C., this month. For the successful director of four low-budget comedies, it is the first time he is making a complete film outside his native Scotland. It is also his first Hollywood-financed movie and his first drama. Forsyth, 39, says that he chose Nelson for its mountain setting and because its well-known old



buildings fit his early 1960s story about two abandoned sisters and their vagabond aunt. The sisters are played by Vancouver girls Sara Walker, 18, and Andrea Barshak, 22. Of Nelson, Forsyth said "There is fantastic and creative community feeling. People have their priorities right."

When Montreal animator Frédéric Back received an Oscar for *Croc*, the best animated short film in 1992, he was wearing a borrowed tuxedo because colleagues had persuaded him only at the last minute to attend the awards ceremony. This week, Back, 33, returns to Hollywood to collect an Oscar, for his contribution to the art of animation. Back says that he is concerned that budget cutbacks at the National Film Board and Radio-Canada may curtail his animation studio. Declared savior in time-consuming animation, Back says, "I am afraid it will be

ing or Paris was the choice of Adrienne Clarkson, Governor-General in France, when she named McClelland and Stewart, 47, whose publishing and, until last week, was chairman. **Avis Bennett** announced that the former television journalist will return to Canada in February to take the job of president, publisher and chief operating officer of M&J. Clarkson is no stranger to publishing—she wrote for newspapers and was successful before her appointment. And she even wrote two spy novels for M&J, including *11285* and *Humint*. Asked if her novels were back into print, Clarkson said, "You don't go into publishing. They're out of print and out of print."

—Edited by SYLVANIE COLE

Heart attacks: a dramatic breakthrough

A 60-year-old man walked into the emergency department of St. Michael's Hospital in Toronto last week complaining of indigestion. But doctors soon discovered that the man's real problem was a blood clot in his coronary artery: he was suffering a major heart attack. Ordinarily, such diagnoses would have imperceptibly broken treatment because, apart from keeping the patient comfortable, there is little doctors can do to interfere while a heart attack is actually in progress. But this man, whom doctors would not identify, had better luck than most victims. One week earlier the hospital's chief cardiologist, Dr. Paul Armstrong, had received supplies of an experimental new drug which many researchers say could be the most important development in the treatment of heart attacks in decades. Armstrong obtained the man's permission to administer tissue-type plasminogen activator, and at week's end the first heart-attack victim in Canada to receive t-PA had made a strong recovery. "This could be the magic bullet we've all been waiting for,"

confidants in t-PA by administering it to a second patient barely 48 hours after he first used it. The recipient on that occasion was a 60-year-old woman who was in the hospital's coronary care unit with unstable angina—a disease characterized by intense chest pain. In their efforts to avert a full-blown heart attack, her doctors had first administered aspirin, only to find it did little to dilate the clogged arteries supplying her heart.

year. Said Armstrong: "t-PA is as fast as good as it looks now, it will certainly be the single most important advance in the management of heart attacks in my lifetime." Added Dr. David Waters, director of research at the Montreal Heart Institute, who will conduct another set of trials next year: "I think t-PA will save a significant number of lives. A patient who might have had a large heart attack will instead have a small or



Heart surgery: shaving the cool objectivity scientists usually display toward unproven drugs

with blood. Then, when that treatment failed to stabilize her condition, they turned to more sophisticated chemicals, some of which lowered the amount of oxygen needed for the heart to function. But her condition continued to worsen, forcing the team to turn to t-PA, a desperate attempt to prevent major damage to the patient's heart. The result: by week's end, the woman was comfortable and her heart function was more stable.

Researchers say that further tests are needed to gauge t-PA's full effectiveness. But they acknowledge that a powerful new weapon may soon be deployed in the battle against heart attacks—from which 50,000 people die in Canada every

moderate-use one and will probably live a longer and better life as a result of this drug."

At the centre of this unusual excitement is a drug that Belgian doctor Dr. Rene Colen first isolated in 1979 from a line of cells taken from a cancer tumor. In fact, t-PA is a drug derived from a protein which the body produces naturally to remove clots, and early tests soon revealed its powerful ability to dissolve blood clots.

But researchers were unable to use the substance in human trials until the San Francisco-based company Genentech first took up the challenge of synthesizing the substance with gene-splicing technology. The company's

researchers first isolated the genes in the cancer cells that were responsible for producing the t-PA protein. Then they implanted them in another line of quickly reproducing mammalian "host cells," which in turn began generating the substance. "But others," says Armstrong, "are a little less than ideal. We're just giving patients a lot more of it."

Beginning in 1984, Genentech began supplying researchers at the U.S. National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute in Bethesda, Md., with sufficient t-PA to compare its effectiveness with streptokinase. That drug, which also dissolves clots, is derived from streptococcus bacteria and has been used to treat heart-attack victims in Canada for more than six years. During the preceding duration of the test, researchers at 13 clinical sites administered t-PA to 840 patients in the first stages of heart attack and streptokinase to another 141 in similar circumstances. They found that blocked coronary arteries responded in 96 per cent of the subjects who received t-PA. By contrast, only 36 per cent of those who received streptokinase experienced a similar improvement. Indeed, t-PA's clear superiority prompted Dr. Eugene Passamani to stop the trial before its scheduled conclusion and report his findings to the *Journal of Medicine*. "I feel very optimistic," he told Maclean's last week. "There is no question this is going to be the topic of very intensive discussion."

The impressive performance is significant because streptokinase itself is a powerful drug. According to Armstrong, widespread publicity about its effectiveness has led many U.S. patients with heart problems to delay cardiologists with requests for the drug. But streptokinase use is often accompanied by unpleasant side-effects. For one thing, it can prompt severe allergic reactions if administered a second time.

Researchers have discovered no signs of allergic reaction to t-PA. But it has at least one drawback: Streptokinase, it can cause hemorrhaging, and some patients in the U.S. t-PA trials died spontaneously from the nose or vomited blood. U.S. and European researchers have administered doses of t-PA to more than 1,000 heart-attack patients, and the Toronto trials will attempt to determine a dosage level that will dissolve clots with a minimum of bleeding.

As well, doctors now know that they can safely treat patients by injecting t-PA directly into the heart muscle. It is possible to achieve comparable results with streptokinase only by administering it through a catheter—a hollow tube threaded through blood

Playing for more time

The stress of recent events showed in the fatigue being Dr. Paul Armstrong's face as he relaxed at his home just north of Toronto. But as he savored a glass of brandy in front of his crackling fireplace, the 46-year-old cardiologist acknowledged that he was excited about developments placing him at the forefront of heart-disease research in Canada. Last week he administered a powerful new drug to two heart-attack victims at Toronto's St. Michael's Hospital. As a result,

spend a week piloting a chartered 45-foot sailboat through the waters of the British Virgin Islands. Armstrong also plays golf and travels by woodstove near his home in his efforts to avert the heart problems he treats each day. Still, he admits that the problems and opportunities present in his work are almost constantly on his mind. As a result, he often is in conflict with his vacation beliefs but last week's ground-breaking use of t-PA and an appearance at the annual meeting of the American Heart Association in



Armstrong, excitement of a new drug, a chance to relax

they became the first patients in Canada to receive tissue-type plasminogen activator (t-PA), a chemical that minimizes brain damage caused by a heart attack. Armstrong spends about 12 hours each day directing the hospital's 16-member cardiology team—and his workdays will be even longer next year when the team begins clinical trials of t-PA. But 15 years' experience in cardiology has taught him to relax occasionally. And to that end Armstrong dined a week of leisure achievement by leaving for a Caribbean vacation.

There, with his wife, Beverly, and their two children, Lyna, 16, and Kevin, 13, the busy, grey-haired doctor

Dallas next week. There, with other heart specialists, he will discuss a new drug whose life-saving potential is so great that he refers to it as "a magic bullet."

Armstrong, who was born in Port Arthur (now part of Thunder Bay) in Northern Ontario, has shown a flair of medicine in which patients' lives often depend on the swiftness and effectiveness of emergency treatment. Indeed, he recalled that a desire to play a key role in influencing events led him to study medicine in 1960 at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont.

At the time, he hoped to become a psychiatrist, but he grew discouraged about his chances for achieving results as a participant in what he described as "the battle of the mind." In 1966 he switched to internal medicine, and after six more years of study he became the director of the coronary care unit at Kingston's General Hospital. Said Armstrong, who moved to St. Michael's two years ago: "Cardiology is a very challenging area. Things happen very quickly and you have an opportunity to make a difference, in fact—to make decisions very quickly." Armstrong demonstrated his swiftness last week. And his work with t-PA is part of a medical breakthrough that will undoubtedly increase heart-attack victims' chances of survival.

MALCOLM GREY with DAVID REED in Toronto

veness to the heart. But heart contusion is a difficult, painful and time-consuming process. Indeed, the ability of either drug to prevent damage to the heart muscle depends directly on how quickly it is administered after the attack begins. Said Armstrong: "There are only a few cardiologists who can do it. And they sure don't have oodles in Thunder Bay or Timmins."

Armstrong says that he hopes current t-t-a research will produce a therapy that can be used easily by nurses or emergency crews treating the ear-

est stages of heart attacks. And Waters is currently negotiating to supply the drug to Quebec's Urgences-Santé (emergency care)—a system that provides donors to go out on emergency calls requiring medical expertise that ambulance crews do not possess. He said that these doctors could be administering t-t-a in the field as early as this spring. Added Waters: "By the time people finally decide they are sick, go to the hospital and see a doctor, the average delay will make it too late for at least half the patients."

Armstrong is cautious about predict-

ing quick healing and widespread use of the drug. And despite the drama of t-t-a's debut at St. Michael's, he is following a deliberate and cautious course in its use. "I am not a cowboy," he declared. "As a clinical scientist, I have been planning this for over a year. It is clearly, effectively planned."

Indeed, last week's treatments were merely the first stages of a pilot study to determine the dosing strategy that will be followed in a clinical trial set to begin early next year. There will be 11 Toronto institutions participating in the trial, which over the course of one year will include 300 patients. As principal investigator, Armstrong will co-ordinate the Toronto trial with t-t-a provided by London-based Barracord's Wellcome International Ltd., a company that is competing with Genentech. Similar trials will be conducted in nine U.S. centres. Armstrong said that determining the still-unknown long-term effects of t-t-a will be a key to the trials. He added: "We have to ask ourselves, are we creating a new disease? You cannot just dissolve a clot. There is more you have to do about it."

The immediate goal of doctors involved in t-t-a therapy is to reduce the amount of heart-muscle damage, called myocardial infarction, that occurs as a result of clots in the coronary artery. Dissolving the clots will restore blood flow in the short term, but experience with anticoagulants has shown that in 15 per cent of patients the clots reform in the same locations—sometimes as soon as three days after administration of the drug. Waters said that administering t-t-a a second time can increase the danger of hemorrhaging. And Armstrong noted that in cases where a threatened heart attack is accompanied by hardening of the arteries, the effectiveness of t-t-a therapy is limited. "It will dissolve the clot," he said, "but it won't take away the hardening of the arteries. It is not a magic drug for all forms of heart disease."

Researchers say that surgery may still be necessary for patients who respond well in the short term to treatment with t-t-a. For Genentech Inc., however, such take-it-or-leave-it does not obscure the fact that t-t-a will likely generate huge amounts of revenue. And Wall Street observers estimate that with individual treatments likely to cost between \$1,800 and \$4,800, the substance could produce revenue of \$1.4 billion annually for the company. But for doctors—and their patients—the significance of t-t-a lies in the momentary arrival of a powerful new tool which can save lives.

—JOHN BARRETT AND NOLA THOMPSON FOR THE POST



Canada's James Bay Project

Venezuela's Guri Power Project

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The America's Cup Challenger entry racing off Fremantle, Australia. *hard issues*

SPORTS

Rough seas for Canada II

The young crew of Canada II began the second round of the America's Cup elimination series in Australia last week filled with enthusiasm. Harassed by the losses of October, outfitted with a new mast, fittings and rigging and with a new tactician, the Canadians appeared ready to challenge the world's best 12-metre yachts and crews. Indeed, after each of their six wins and six losses in round 1, 35-year-old skipper Terry Neilson said, "We learned a lot today." But after five losses in the first six second-round races, it was clear that Canada had just the slightest chance of graduating to the semifinals. Said trimmer Allan McNary, 25: "Theoretically, we could have won every race. You can just see it slipping away."

Neilson replaced his chief helmsman Andy Ray, 28, fired as tactician after 12 races. "They were saying, 'The boat is great, the crew is great, the sails are great and the skipper is great, but we made a mistake with this tactician.' To me the problem was very consistent." Neilson replaced his chief helmsman Ray with Geng Tsanattajirong, 22. Said Neilson: "It was the hardest decision of my life, but it had to be made." With Tsanattajirong on board last week, Canada II faced French Kiss in the pre-start jockeying for position. Canada II started along the starting line for more than 20 seconds, waiting for the starter's gun. But helmsman Scott Colbourne had erred in sighting the line and Canada II had run on the wrong side of it. With Canada forced to restart, French Kiss was easily.

As expected, Canada II defeated the Aga Khan's Amara in strong breezes the following day, before racing White Crusader. Under the veteran British skipper Harold Gidners, Crusader broke off the starting line first, but Canada II found a wind shift and breasted to a 2:00-minute lead at the

first mark. But on the third leg Neilson, alternate helmsman Vlass Fagh and Tsanattajirong chose the wrong 100 sail and squandered 53 seconds of the lead. Then, about 100 yards from the finish, Crusader swept toward Canada II. Obligated as the windward boat to stay clear, Neilson tacked sharply away and headed for the quarterboat end of the finish line.

After the first, Crusader bore for the leeward end of the finish line. It crossed 0:295 of a second ahead, the narrowest margin in Cup history. Had Neilson also run to leeward of the line, he might have won. At a post-race meeting, several crew members complained about Canada II's tactics before Neilson reversed the contentious sentiments with a lecture on the need for team spirit. Later, Neilson said, "On days like today I wish I had been through two or three America's Cup-like sums of the other skippers."

Losses in Britain and America II followed. Said Gary Johnson, tactician on the 1987 America's Cup champion Cummings: "The Canadians are waiting for something wrong to happen, instead of making things happen for themselves." Fagh strongly suggested that changes be made to Canada II. Said Fagh: "We've got to get more speed. If we don't, the writing is on the wall." But Canada II drummer Bruce Kirby disagreed. Instead, Kirby last week urged the removal of the new mast, rigging and fittings—which cost more than \$65,000 and were used for only a week—and the restoration of the old equipment. Said Kirby: "If you start to doubt the boat, you're liable to make changes that just aren't warranted." The next day Canada II lost to USA by 4:06 minutes.

Other challengers have made more substantive changes. America II flew a new keel from Camacraft. The Stars and Stripes group added 20 inches to its yacht's stern, while the USA syndicate increased the size of the first roller on its revolutionary two-ruddered keel. On race day, Kirby ordered Canada II's mast moved forward in hopes of gaining speed before leaving New Zealand. The Canadians may get some respite this week, facing the three closest yachts, Challenge France, Heart of America and Eagle. But they must win two more races and Stripes said Neilson: "One of the main reasons we picked this crew is their personalities. They can persevere and go through the ups and downs." As the Australian sea breeze rougher, the young Canadians will likely face more of the same.

—BILL QUINN with TOM MALONEY in Fremantle

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No rest in the Sunday shopping wars

I dread the Sundays and prayed to God that if he chose for me to die in Toronto he would let it be on a Saturday afternoon to save me from one more Toronto Sunday.

—Leoipold Infeld

Canadian cities have become increasingly open for business on Sunday since scientist Infeld declared that stinging apraisals 45 years ago. For one thing, all provinces have found alternatives to the Lord's Day Act, the 1907 federal law which decreed Sunday to be a day of rest. Now, cultural and sporting events are routinely available and such small businesses as convenience stores and gas stations serve customers on Sunday. Yet merchants, consumers and workers are still subject to a patchwork of confusing and inconsistent provincial and municipal Sunday operating laws. And on April, 1982, the Supreme Court of Canada decision which struck down the Lord's Day Act—as the grounds that it effectively deprived non-Christians of fundamental rights—has intensified campaigns against the remaining restrictions. Declared Toronto farmer Paul Magder: "The provincial government is infringing on my rights by telling me I cannot open my business on Sunday."

Magder is a veteran of the Sunday shopping wars, and his campaign has been closely watched by businessmen across the country. Since 1965 he has led Ontario's Businessmen Holidays Act by opening his fur store on Sundays—a rebellion which has prompted local police to lay more than 250 charges against him. Still, for Magder and many other merchants, the resulting fines upon conviction—a total of \$3,000 in his case—are a little more than an annoying business tax. Indeed, Magder cites his receipts as proof that consumers favor unrestricted shopping. Magder says that he recently sold \$84,000 worth of furs during one day of illegal operations—about 40 per cent of his total for that week. At the same time, his battle to change the law has cost him \$180,000 in legal fees.

Now such lawsuits as supermarket chains in Ontario, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan and Manitoba are awaiting a Supreme Court ruling, expected sometime this month, on a challenge filed by Magder and two other retailers. His basis, that under the Constitution a province has no right to determine when

people should work or shop. Said Magder: "Under the Charter of Rights, the provincial government has no right to make prohibitive legislation—only the federal government can do that."



Constitution of the country: Magder (below) defiance, fines and open stores

As a result of the Supreme Court's ruling on the Lord's Day Act last year, such provinces as Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia sought alternate means of prohibiting retailers from opening



their doors on Sundays. They tried to do so through new laws that had no religious intent but were designed simply to give workers a day off. And following the lead of British Columbia and Alber-

ta, New Brunswick allows municipal officials to disregard its Days of Rest Act. Only St. Jacques, a small community near Edmundston in a northwestern New Brunswick, has formally voted to do so. Elsewhere in the province such large supermarkets as Sobeys's 80-store grocery chain are raising fines of up to \$1,000 for each violation by keeping night supermarkets open for business on Sundays. And a survey conducted by the Manitoba and District Labour Council charged that area retailers had committed more than 300 separate infractions during the past six months.

Indeed, labor representatives across the country are key figures in a loose alliance with religious leaders and small businesses who are seeking continued restrictions on Sunday business operations. To that end, the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a statement in September arguing that Sunday should remain as a day of rest for Christians and non-Christians alike. Added John Murphy, executive secretary of the New Brunswick Federation of Labour: "If everyone is working different hours, with different days of rest,

Sunday life is harmed." In Manitoba, union leaders expressed concern when Calgary-based Canada Safeway Ltd. and a small local food chain each decided to open their Winnipeg supermarkets on Sunday this fall. Said Bernard Christoph, president of the Manitoba Food and Commercial Workers Union, which represents 3,500 Safeway employees: "Members of our union no longer have a secure day of rest. If this trend continues, more and more people will have to work on Sundays."

But Safeway officials say that under the terms of an agreement with the union, the three stores use only employees who have volunteered to work that day. In addition, they note that both large food companies are abiding by a provincial law that permits retailers to operate on Sunday with a maximum of four employees. Declared Safeway spokesman Peter Spiller: "Right now we are abiding by the regulations with three checkers and one supervisor in each store—which takes us to our limits."

As well, supermarket officials in New Brunswick, Saskatchewan and Ontario—where an estimated 100 stores in the Toronto area alone are now operating illegally—report that they are doing good business on Sundays. But even some customers who are patronizing such stores say that they do not want unrestricted trade on Sundays. Declared Lou Stevens, a 29-year-old Winnipeg teacher: "I will not come back to Safeway again. The line-ups were really long, and there was a 45-minute wait to get through the three checkouts that were open." And Winnipeg housewife Ann Ayson predicted that the competition from large retailers would harm small operations selling such goods as food, tobacco products and magazines. Declared Ayson, who with the help of her wife, Leona, and two part-time employees operates a small grocery store near one of the Safeway stores: "Sunday is our big day. Our business is down by about 30 per cent because Safeway is extending its hours."

Meanwhile, provincial authorities are awaiting the Supreme Court's ruling on Sunday closings before laying any further charges. Still, the fate of the first law in history to govern business hours on a day of rest suggests the difficulty of the judges' task. In 1931, Constance, Bishop of Rome, promulgated the first closing laws ordering workers to rest on Sunday and honor the god Apollo. Then, twentieth-century current difficulties, he modified his edict—and granted agricultural workers an exception.

—MARCELO GRANT with correspondents' reports



Jack Daniel's Tennessee Whiskey distillery in Lynchburg, Tenn. (Photo by AP/Wide World)

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Tales of a cherished family heirloom

The set seems oddly out of context. Two stereotypes undergirded, in a concrete bunker of a studio beneath the octagonal tower housing the CBC's Montreal headquarters, stands an old-fashioned kitchen, complete with a wood stove and windows that look out onto a painted backdrop of rolling meadows. Here in Quebec's hot TV serial *Le temps d'une vie* (A Time for Peace), that kitchen will serve as the site of a special sacrament next week. Celebrating seven years of remarkable success, the show's cast will gather around the kitchen table for the last time and tape the final episode. Almost three million people are expected to watch when it airs next month. During the past season *Le temps* drew a weekly average of 2.5 million viewers—more than any other regular program produced in Canada. It consistently won 75 per cent of the audience, the highest share of any show in North America. But *Le temps* is only the most recent triumph for Radio-Canada, which has forged an unrivaled close relationship with its audience.

Although the CBC serves as the nation's most tangible symbol of cultural unity, its French and English faces have taken on radically dissimilar complexities as differences that transcend language. While the English CBC has mostly distilled the disparate elements of Canada's far-flung and often tenuous identity, Radio-Canada has served as a crucible for a dramatic transformation of Quebec society—from the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s to the later independence battles.

This month, as the CBC celebrates its 50th birthday, two separate celebrations are making place. While the English TV network paid lip-service to the anniversary with a single nostalgia special, its French counterpart has prepared a weekly series of 14 programs reexamining Radio-Canada's past. English Canadians tend to treat the CBC with a



Scene from *Le temps d'une vie*. (Below) A seven-year success and a retirement

scold's sense of loyalty. But for many French Canadians, Radio-Canada is more like a cherished family heirloom. Says Roger Lemelin, creator of the original *Le Fils du Pêcheur* ("Radio-Canada is more important for us than the CBC is for English Canada. It has played the role of a great popular university").

With a TV curriculum ranging from world politics to parish soap operas, Radio-Canada has enjoyed a mainstream appeal that has often eluded the English CBC. Consider *L'École* as an example, the French version of *Mr. Young's*. *Mr. Young* Facing only modestly on the English network, it draws 1.5 million viewers in Quebec. And at 11 p.m. each week *Forty's Eve*, almost three million viewers watch the annual *Bye, Bye*, Radio-Canada's religiously national New

Year's Eve show. Said the executive producer Jean Besençon: "It's like midnight mass at Christmas." Radio-Canada's first family tradition was *Le Fils du Pêcheur*, launched at the dawn of television in 1960. "Once," recalled writer Lemelin, "I gave Napoleon Plouffe a brain teaser. Then I got a phone call from a guy telling me, 'You ain't got one and I weigh 330 lb., and if you kill Napoleon I'm going to kill you.'"

Le Fils du Pêcheur was the first of many thrillers (television novels) that became Radio-Canada's literary lifeblood. Another was *Les belles histoires* that paid his last, which ran for 34 years and starred André Champagne as the suburban farm wife, Bouakla. Now the MP for St. Hyacinthe-Bagot, Champagne still receives occasional "Domica" letters from opponents, but she has found memories of the series. It was the first Canadian show to shoot exterior scenes. He recalls that when generators sited up with cold, "we would be stuck in the woods with no power. I had some tea



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—PHIL WORTON with MARIO CHESNETHO in
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freer, as it was fantastic."

An aggressive phalanx of politicians have emerged from Radio-Canada's ranks. Along with former premier René Lévesque, they include Géo-Gen, Jeanne Bédard, Senator Théodore Gauthier and former Quebec cabinet minister Edouard Poirier—all former TV stars. Poirier, who gave up the province's most popular talk show to join Lévesque's cabinet in 1976, is now a successful film-screen writer.

On television, politics, drama and even sport gave voice to Quebec's rising nationalism. Viewers watched sea-gas canisters explode in the Montreal Forum during the 1985 riot over the suspension of star forward Mario

Rivest. Pierre Trudeau, in power, Radio-Canada suspended a TV reporter for his reports of police brutality at a Montreal demonstration. The network's journalists walked out in sympathy—and Radio-Canada cancelled its entire coverage of election night. One of those involved in the 1983 boycott was Pierre Nadex, who now hosts *Le Point*, Radio-Canada's modest equivalent to the CBC's *The Journal*. He says that network politics have melted since the 1970s, when Ottawa politicians often considered Radio-Canada as a base for opponents. But there remains some resentment toward the English network. Last month *Le Point* aired an exclusive interview with Fabrice Pein,



Scene from *La famille Plouffe*: an unusually close relationship with the audience

rise Richard. Commentator Jean-Marc Bally later described Richard as "the symbol of a people that would no longer silently accept outside authority."

In the 1960s, while the CBC's Percy Sillitman became English Canada's pet iron with his chaferscratched weather map of Canada's warring provinces fronts, Lévesque stood before world maps and analyzed political conflicts as his popular program, *Point de Vue*. Radio-Canada's frank journalism helped undermine the 15-year dynasty of Premier Maurice Duplessis. "Aside from the Second World War," Lévesque told Nadex, "TV was the next biggest shock for Quebec. Radio-Canada had a revolutionary impact—and Duplessis hated our guts."

But the network's internal structure cracked under the strain of Quebec's social turbulence. In 1988 Lévesque took part in a bitter 10-week producers' strike for union recognition—an early inspiration for the independence movement. A decade later, during the 1995 federal election, that

one of the most famous terrorists of Bally's *Red Regades* Nadex conducted a secretive interview in English and offered it to *The Journal*. "The answer we got," he said, "was that if Barbara Frum wasn't asking the questions, they were not interested." And although *Le Point* itself has been said to Spain, director Yves Trudel said that he was disappointed that English CBC has not picked it up. "We talk about free trade with the Americans," he said. "Maybe we should start at home."

One of the rare instances of collaboration supports that the French and English networks reason two solitudes under one corporate roof. Last week Toronto CBC programmers screened a striptease scene in *He Shoots, He Scores*. But it aired in the French version, prompting anxious letters and a petition from viewers. Once again, Radio-Canada had touched a nerve in Quebec society—and provoked a response.

—BRIAN D. JOHNSON in Montreal with PAUL GIBBELL in Ottawa and YVES TRUDEL in Montreal

OBITUARY

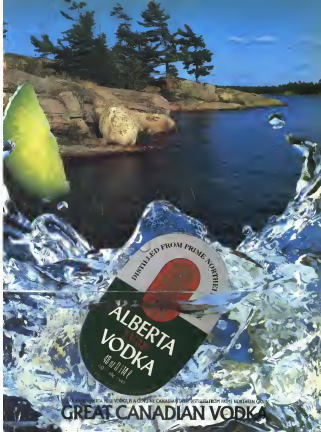
Pioneer of the airwaves

When he was general manager of CBC, the Ottawa affiliate station of CBC, the sign on his desk read "Chief Troublemaker." Indeed, Stuart Griffiths, who died in Ottawa last week at 68, was something of a troublemaker in the highly regulated world of Canadian broadcasting. But he was also an important pioneer in Canadian television. In the early 1960s, later, he went on to build—and lose—the largest privately owned empire of cable and TV stations in the country—the now-defunct Bushnell Communications Ltd. All along, he did it his way. Declined former CBC network program director Harry Boyle, a longtime associate of Griffiths, "He was very adroit, very unconventional. He wouldn't sit around discussing something with management—he'd go ahead and do it, and discuss it later. It made the brass nervous."

A short, stocky figure with the energy of three men, Griffiths got his start at the CBC as a Toronto publicity writer in 1941. By 1946 he had become program director of Toronto's CBC, which went on the air in 1952 as the first English-language CBC station. In television, Griffiths quickly developed a reputation as a great innovator. In fact, he found the CBC's growing bureaucracy stifling and left the country in 1957 to work in Britain.

But Griffiths made an even greater mark on the young medium when he returned to Canada a few years later to head CBC, then owned by Bushnell. In the promotional era of 1964, he arranged for a British Royal Air Force banner to fly footage from London. Halifax of Sir Winston Churchill's funeral. Later, as president of Bushnell, he attempted to assemble an \$80-million TV, radio and cable empire. But in 1971, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission refused Griffiths's request to purchase the 12 cable companies crucial to his plan, and his empire began to crumble. In 1975 Standard Broadcasting bought CBC, and Griffiths retired to sail the boat that he had built himself—in a civil war. Then, when, according to Boyle, Griffiths received an independent spirit. "He said that damn boat down the eastern shore into the West Indies. And he did it by himself."

—PAMELA YOUNG in Toronto



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FILMS

The power and the glory

THE MISSION

Directed by Roland Joffé

Certain rare films, no matter how flawed, still have a more profound impact than their better-made counterparts. *The Mission*, based on the true story of an 18th-century Jesuit colony among the Guaraní Indians of the Argentine interior, is one such film. Written by Robert Bolt (*A Man for All Seasons*) and directed by Roland Joffé (*The Killing Fields*), it is a curious amalgam of academic history, adventure, bleeding-heart liberalism—and redolent spirituality. The film deals with the genocide committed by Portuguese soldiers of the Guaraní people and their Jesuit colony in 1764. The bloody spectacle of evil celebrating itself ultimately makes *The Mission* a deeply moving work.

Bolt frames the action with narration in the form of a letter to the Pope composed by his envoy, Altamirano (Ray McKeown). Altamirano has been sent to Argentina to decide the fate of Jesuit missions in Guaraní territory, which Spain has just ceded to Portugal. Both espire the self-sufficient settlements, which protect the Indians from the slave trade, as counterproductive to their commercial ambitions. But does the Pope really care about the missions, indeed, is

finds it expedient to dissolve them, in order to keep the rebellious Jesuit order under his thumb. No one expects the Jesuits and the Guaraní to stand their ground—or the wholesale slaughter that results when they do.

That dense historical background is necessary, but often intrusive, obscuring the film's human story of a Jesuit novice and former missionary, Rodrigo Mendoza (Robert De Niro), and his relationship with Father Gabriel (Jeremy Irons). Gabriel is travelling through the Argentine interior to become spiritual leader of the Guaraní. His predecessor has been regrettably crushed, the body—in one of the film's heart-stopping sequences—sent over the thundering Spanish Falls. Gabriel finally reaches the border of Guaraní territory, accessible only by skidding the sheer rock face surrounding the falls. In a scene of powerful symbolism,

Gabriel makes the ascent. At the top, he waits in the forest, playing his flute. The musically gifted Guaraní respond at first with suspicion, but soon are enthralled.

But the salvation of the Guaraní is

only one of Gabriel's cruelties. Another is Mendoza, a Spanish missionary who is a fit of jealous rage killed his brother. When Gabriel offers him the chance to redeem himself by good works with the Indians, Mendoza agrees with him to the falls. Throwing a huge sack of metal armor and weaponry, symbolizing the past he must reject, Mendoza tearfully creeps up the cliffs. At the top, a Guaraní cuts loose his ladder. As it falls into the river, the Indians and the Jesuits laugh while Mendoza weeps uncontrollably. Then, in an unforgettable scene of personal transfiguration, he too bends into laughter. Later, after Mendoza takes up arms again, against Spain and Portugal, the pacifist Gabriel remarks, "It might as well, then there's no place in the world for love." Unhappily, the redemption proves his error.

Director Joffé achieves stunning visual effects with the help of cinematographer Chris Menges, with whom he collaborated on *The Killing Fields*. When the Indians stage a candlelight vigil outside one of the missions, it seems as if the stars have come down to earth. And the film's battle finale, with Gabriel and the Indians leaving the burning mission and walking deliberately into a burning of Indians, is brilliantly shot. Elena Maradona's music—a series of mournful strains mixed with joyful chanting—is more expressive than the script itself.

Indeed, the characterizations in *The Mission* are scarcely more than two-dimensional. Still, both Irons and De Niro give subtle, deeply felt performances. The finest acting, however, comes from the little-known Irish actor McKeown, as Altamirano. He knows that his assignment—to investigate the missions—is a mere formality; their fate is a foregone conclusion. In his own eyes, he has sold his soul to the devil for the sake of his church.

Despite its flaws, *The Mission's* strengths leave an indelible impression. Its spirit is so expensive that its sins are redeemed.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

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Rocking into maturity

GRAVITY

James Brown
(Smith Brown/CBS)

The rock of rock 'n' roll are surprisingly durable. One of his founding fathers, Chuck Berry, has been walking his way to the age of 80, and James Brown, the godfather of soul, continues to prove that at 58 he remains—as he claims—“the hardest-working man in show business.” On his latest album, *Gravity*, he offers enough potent, burn-powered music and vocal energy to fuel a dozen records by young imitators. Slickly produced—and largely written—by guitarist Don Harrison, the album has strong crossover potential. Already out on “Living in America,” has been widely heard on the sound track of the movie *Boyz n the City*. Two other selections, the title track and the hypersensitive “Turn Me Loose, I’m Dr. Feelgood,” typify Brown’s frenzied, wildly rhythmic dance music. Some of his 1960s classics, including “Papa’s Got a Brand New Bag,” were as tightly wound as a coiled spring. *Gravity* is



Hynde: an accompanying survivor

more supple—but James Brown still has the power to move fast.

GET CLOSE

The Pretenders
(RCA/WEA)

Chrissie Hynde, lead singer of The Pretenders, is a survivor. Two years ago, after the deaths of two original band members, Hynde—who had recently given birth to a daughter—faced a new group and broke one of the best albums of 1984, *Learning to Crawl*. Now 35, Hynde has a second child and a fourth album, *Get Close*, which features some of her most accomplished work. The irresistible “Don’t Get Me Wrong” is a plea for a lover’s understanding; the gentle “Hymn to Her” is a daughter’s tribute to her mother, both the dreamy “Tradition of Love” and a fierce rendition of Joni Mitchell’s “Riverside of Mirrors” show her affinity for 1960s-style rock. But the album is memorable for Hynde’s scathing attack on sexist-anxiety hypnosis, “How Much Did You Get for Your Soul?” With references to African starvation and “The Pope Generation,” it underscores the contradictions between pop charity and corporate sponsorship. Tough and uncompromising, *Get Close* shows that Hynde just gets better with age.

—MICHAEL JENNINGS



Rotting fish in northern Ontario: a deadly diagnosis of freshwater supplies

BOOKS

Killers in the water

TO THE LAST DROP: CANADA AND THE WORLD'S WATER CRISIS

By Michael Keating
(Macmillan of Canada,
360 pages, \$29.95)

Canada, a country with only one-half of one per cent of the world's population, claims more than one-seventh of the world's freshwater lakes. In an age that fears diminishing resources, that is a reassuring statistic for wary Canadians. But the ease to which the nation has put its liquid assets is less impressive. The pollution in the harbor of Hamilton, Ont., so severe that experts say there may be no safe way to clean it up. Wind-surfers who fall into the St. Lawrence River near Quebec City risk contracting diarrhea, eye infections and other ailments. The prairie provinces and parts of southern British Columbia are struggling to produce half of Canada's crops with only five per cent of the nation's water supply. In *To the Last Drop*, author Michael Keating asks, “What will we do when the clean water runs out?” His disturbing book makes it clear that it is time to find some answers.

In *The Last Drop* is a catalogue of horrors. Keating, an environmental reporter for the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, provides evidence of how the world's vital supply of fresh water is being poisoned and squandered. Water pollution, he writes, is like “death by a million tiny knife cuts” everything from sewage waste and pesticides to acid

rain contributes to the problem. And as he observes, clean, safe water is already a scarce commodity in many parts of the globe. Each year water-borne diseases kill 35 million people. Writes Keating: “It is as if seven fully loaded jumbo jets crashed every hour and there were no survivors.”

Both a grim, complex subject makes heavy demands on the reader, and at times Keating's exhaustively researched facts and figures are as thick as sludge. Still, his explanations of the cause and effect of different types of water pollution are lucid, and he backs up theoretical descriptions of the mounting threat to international water supplies with convincing case studies. He also offers a welcome drop of hope in an ocean of despair: in Latin America and Ontario an “ecological crisis of major proportions” has been averted because the United States and Canada have dramatically reduced the amount of phosphates in their sewage.

In *The Last Drop* is very much a call to arms. Keating's thesis is that conserving water begins at home—and that an informed public has the power to pressure politicians into mending their ways. To that end, he provides an extensive list of outlets for information and action: water issues alerting the public to the precarious state of the world's water supply is a difficult and dirty job. Fortunately, Michael Keating is equal to the task.

—PAMELA TORRES

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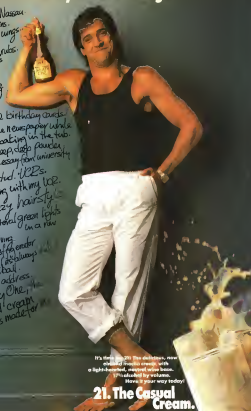
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BOOKS

Notes from a life of nonconformity

NECESSARY SECRETS
THE JOURNALS OF
HELEN BETH SMART, 1908-1941
Edited by Alice Van Wart
(Doubleday Publishers, 357 pages, \$24.95)

When Elizabeth Smart died last March, the 73-year-old writer was at the height of her fame. In the 1970s a new generation of readers had discovered her first novel, *By Grand Central Station* (F. Scribner), and *Shout* (Penguin) published in 1986, the wild, erotically charged autobiographical novel was hailed in Britain as "a masterpiece of poetic prose." Then, in 1992 Smart undertook the publication of her extensive early diaries, selecting Edmonia academy Alice Van Wart as editor. The result, which includes rough drafts of stories, poetry and even shopping lists, follows Smart from privileged golden girl of 19 to scandal-hounded woman of 58. As a writer, Smart never had much use for the outer world: "I hate facts!" she exclaims at one point. But despite that focus on private perceptions, the *Journals* remain undeniably compelling.

Born into a wealthy Ottawa family, Smart attended public system high in Canada by establishing an open liaison with the married English poet George Barker in 1940. Barker never divorced his wife, but Smart, living as a virtual exile in England, bore him two children and raised them alone. Frequently ill, often penniless, the resolutely declined to indulge in self-pity. As she wrote in her diary, "I ask no one's forgiveness for what I refuse to recognize." For female readers conditioned to expect fulfillment from relationship, her diaries chart the familiar conflict between the demands of "the empty-faced god of love" and the creative impulse. Smart's writing reveals a puritan rebel, driven by a passion for beauty. Throughout her life, she remained true to her father's dictum, "Never do anything that is not up to your best idea of yourself."

The young life that emerges in the diaries falls into two distinct periods, bound by her continuity of spirit. At the outset, Smart studies piano in London, travels the world with her parents and their prominent friends, shines as an Ottawa debater and moves in the brilliant young circle that included future prime minister Lester B. Pearson. Smart's break with that secure world began with her 1938 decision to travel with a group of

young artists to France. There, she takes her first lover and experiments with poetic prose.

Later, in California, Smart meets Barker, who is the fleshly embodiment of her doctrine of mystic love, her belief that "beauty is holy. Beauty is earthly. It is God. It is sex." But Barker is her nemesis as well as her hero. After they begin their liaison, Smart's growth as an artist is tragically bound to a dependence on the love of one man. "He gives me back my love of the

poetry style has condensed into a fusion of dream images and fevered rhythms, with narrative all but dissolved. She had been consciously fusing a form she felt more responsive to the female experience, a process she likened to sex and childbirth. "Each word must rip veins grown. No just effort must ease the new birth." But her vision of the feminine had also embraced her in nonconformity. In an early poem, she crystallized her dilemma in an arresting image: "Before I could shed the first



Smart from debaucherous parties to life as a poet's penniless lover

world," she writes, "my medical, alchemical love that can convert anything into food for the soul or senses."

Ranked against Smart's vision of sexual adventure are ranks of enemies, who populate the diary. First among them is Smart's mother, whose terrible sibling, provoked by the slightest thwarting of her will, erupts into brutal rages. "Any child," she knows, "could write the devil you're written." Smart's self-discovery proceeds through a series of conflicts with available would-be lovers—and with the reliable form of the traditional novel. Rejecting such security, she writes, "I want no certainty, not a comfort."

By 1939, when she is living in Mexico with married painter Wolfgang Paalen, his wife and his mistress, Smart's

word of a concrete poem? my breast fell voluptuously on my hand/ and I remembered I was a woman"

Despite the surface devastation of Smart's life and the impression of crisis sustained, the diaries are surely depressing. Over on Barker oscillates between wife and mistress—as he was to do for the rest of Smart's life—the words flow. In misery she writes "I can write nothing for I have nothing to say. I am only waiting for my life to begin, which it never can until he comes back," and early similar words find their way into *By Grand Central Station*. As the diaries suggest, poetry was, for Smart, stronger even than sorrow.

—HEATHER BENNINGTON

Intimations of mortality

MERCHANTS OF FEAR AN INVESTIGATION OF CANADA'S INSURANCE INDUSTRY

By James Fleming
(Penguin Books, 351 pages, \$22.95)

Life-insurance salesmen traditionally sell their policies by "backing the horse to the door"—a phrase that author James Fleming uses in *MERCHANTS OF FEAR* to describe the art of playing on human anxiety. Reminding prospective clients of their mortality, salesmen often ask, "If you're not here, who will I talk to?" Fleming is too subtle a critic not to appreciate that concern for calamity is the very reason for the insurance industry's existence—but, he notes, "there is an ill-defined line between stressing protection and exploiting fear." Although *MERCHANTS OF FEAR* itself stresses that line—in its sardonic title suggests skeletons rattling in the closet—the bones prove more deadly than dangerous. His generally well-written book is an objective survey of a stale and stuffy industry that has failed to adapt to the aggressive world of modern finance.

The main problem with life insur-

ance is that its promoters have sold the product as an investment. But protection policies—offering low rates of return—are unproductive ways to invest. As a result, insurance has lost ground to an array of income plans, including Registered Retirement Savings Plans (RRSPs) offered by banks and trust companies. Struggling to maintain their market share, the li-

Reminding prospective clients of mortality, insurance salesmen often ask, 'If you're not here, who will I talk to?'

ability (or general business) insurance industry has just passed through a severe crisis. Premium rates have soared, and many companies—blaming inflated awards that courts have given insurance claimants—have turned clients away. But some companies, Fleming shows, moved trouble. In an unusually rash for expenses, they sold policies priced to compete, rather

than priced to reflect risk accurately. Fleming follows the well-worn formula for successful business books: hard facts, good quotes and colorful anecdotes. He describes how Sydney Jackson, the imposing chairman of Toronto-based Manufacturers Life Insurance Co., was dethroned at a company function in a pair of underhanded. And he recounts how another ManLife executive, President Thomas Di Giacommo, was recently hired for his management practices at a dinner for 300 employees. His left portraits of industry leaders give a dull business a human face—warts and all.

But Fleming deals only peripherally with how government policy has affected the insurance business, giving short shrift to the way tax benefits have redirected money into savings. And his discussion of taxation is cursory, even though the industry derives more premium income from annuities than from life insurance. Still, the book could not have been better timed. This fall's federal throne speech pledged sweeping changes for all financial institutions. Fleming's work is a primer on an industry in transition—with useful recommendations for consumers and government regulators alike.

—MICHAEL HEIST

Strangers in a cold land

THE IMMIGRANT YEARS FROM EUROPE TO CANADA 1945-1967

By Barry Broadfoot
(Douglas & McIntyre, 233 pages, \$22.95)

The Second World War took the lives of 42,042 Canadians. Paradoxically, that conflict also added millions to the country's population. According to oral historian Barry Broadfoot, 2.5 million people from Britain and Europe emigrated to Canada between 1945 and 1967 as a direct result of the war's destruction and social upheaval. The majority came eagerly, hoping to find a better life. Their optimism in Broadfoot's latest book, *The Immigrant Years*, suggests that most of them found what they were seeking—although rarely in the form they expected. The stories of their early hardship and confusion make sense of the most heartrending recollections that Broadfoot (Tom Last Year) has ever offered. And his rendering of the newcomers' fierce love for their adopted country puts to shame the more tepid allegiances of more long-standing citizens.

More than a third of the postwar

immigrants were from Britain. Of those, 40,000 were war brides—women who had married Canadian servicemen abroad but could not join their husbands in Canada until late 1945 and 1946. Although their adjustments to Canada were mitigated by familiarity with the language,

many were still bewildered. One of them, Shelia, arrived in Saskatchewan during a freezing February night to be met by the husband she scarcely knew. Shelia was lucky her new mother-in-law's caring welcome dissolved her tensions. Three early years, she declares, "were the best in my life, just getting to know and love my new country."

For those who did not know English, the settlement process was much harder. A Dutch woman who arrived in Winnipeg hit upon an ingenious device for learning the new language: the *Katzen* catalogue. But others found the new tongue too diffi-

cult and sank into self-created ghettos of enclaves and isolation. Inevitably, the book recounts the mass-persecution of some Canadians toward the new arrivals, whom they regarded as dirty, exploitable "ore"—Displaced Persons. Some immigrants still speak bitterly of the enclaves, indifference and distrust of Canadians they met.

But there are also many tales of kindness. A lonely Ukrainian family in Hamilton, Ont., was astonished one Christmas Eve by 18 neighbors who marched into their tiny house behind stinking bagpipes. When the party finally broke up, a family member recalled "feeling very, very happy to be Canadian." Another immigrant recalls how as a young student she beat up the school bully—and was immediately befriended by the other children. Indeed, what is most moving about *The Immigrant Years* is the sense that someone human decency remains a powerful solvent of the suspicions that divide one culture from another.

—JOHN REMBORE



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Portrait of a paddler

WATERWALKER

Directed by Bill Mason

The man in the floppy hat deftly guiding his canoe through foaming rapids is already familiar to thousands of canoeing enthusiasts. In several previous films and in his best-selling instructional book, *Path of the Paddle*, Bill Mason has done more than any other Canadian to popularize the art of paddling through the wilderness. Now, in a new documentary—currently in cross-country release in commercial theatres—Mason offers what he calls in his "last movie": *Waterwalker* follows Mason on a solo canoe trip through the stunning country north of Lake Superior. With a moody musical score by Bruce Cockburn and Hugh Marsh, wrapped-up Dolby sound, and superb camera work by Ken Bank, the film is a look, idyllic—and at times self-indulgent—portrait of a man and the land he loves.

Almost entirely lacking in conventional drama, the slow-moving *Waterwalker* does, however, have structure



Mason, staying in touch with the land

The first half of the film follows Mason as he seductively poles, paddles and carries his boat and canoe over some of the steepest rivers in its source. Then, Buck's canoe tricks his speedier return down another river to the Lake Superior shore. Along the way, there is spectacular scenery, a nearby disastrous spill in icy water and a generous portion of philosophizing about the relationship between man and nature, much of it inspired by native Canadian. Mason's mentors in such matters. Indeed, *Waterwalker* features several shots of Indian rock paintings, accompanied by the noble Indian voice of Ojibwa musician Wilfred Pelletier, who intones, "We see the spirit at work in everything." Despite the pomposity, Mason's plan for a more intimate bond with the natural world is genuine and convincing.

Waterwalker contains far too many scenes of Mason working on his romantic landscape paintings. In fact, now that Mason plans to make a fall-time living from his art, much of the film resembles a promotional brochure for his new career. But despite its faults, Mason's final movie is ultimately satisfying. *Waterwalker* is like a canoe trip where one's critical faculties are laid to rest in the simple enjoyment of the land's beauty.

—JOHN BOMBARDI

Oscars and hard times

Bill Mason produced his feature film *Waterwalker* in collaboration with an unusual department of the National Film Board—Studio D, the all-woman unit devoted to making films on women's issues. In fact, *Waterwalker* boasts Studio D's name only because Mason briefly joined its staff during an expansion period when six women directors were available. But in the movie's quality, if not its content, *Waterwalker* does reflect the unit. Since film-maker Kathleen Shannon persuaded the NFB to establish Studio D in 1974 in preparation for International Women's Year, it has produced more than 40 documentaries on women's issues, many of them highly acclaimed. Among the best-known: *Not a Love Story* and three Oscar winners, *If You Love This Planet*, *I'm Just a Way and a Flower* and *4.19*. The NFB's records show that Studio D films are booked twice as often as its other English-language films. Yet despite its success, the studio currently faces some of the most perilous times of its short life.

The problems stem from cutbacks to the NFB's general budget—\$19 million over three years. The reduction has left the board with a diminishing account of what it calls "free money," what remains after rents and salaries are paid. In the 1980-1981 fiscal year, Studio D received 10.9 per cent of the board's budget for film, freelancers, travel and other necessities. In 1984-1985, that figure dropped to 6.2 per cent of the reduced budget. "Everything but editing stopped this July,"

Despite winning three Oscars, the National Film Board's Studio D could not afford a \$3.50 roll of splicing tape

said film-maker Dorothy Todd Hissat. "Then we got a little bit more money. We stopped again in September."

That month funds became so tight that when film-maker Terri Nash (*Opening Our Presence*, a feature documentary) requisitioned a \$3.50 roll of tape for splicing bits of film together, the board refused to supply it. The reason Studio D was over budget, Anthe-

re department finally provided the tape. But, said Hissat, "I don't know when we will be starting another film. We need another \$300,000 to finish the film already in progress."

To some extent the studio is a victim of its own success. Because it proved there was an audience for films made by women about women's issues, resources it might have used are now going to a major NFB push to integrate women into all programs. And new president Françoise Morinville has set aside \$200,000—the cost amount of the unit's shortfall—to launch a French-language version of Studio D.

Meanwhile, another problem looms: no successor has yet been named to replace founder Shannon (an associate producer on *Waterwalker*), who last June announced her intention to step down as executive producer as soon as a replacement could be found. Still, the beleaguered unit continues to receive praise. In fact, in mid-September the Chaplin-Savoygas took home an honouring trophy that the unit "serve as a model to the entire audiovisual industry." For now, the 13-member staff at Studio D are hoarding their splicing tape and planning for the future. Said Hissat, "We have enough projects to keep us busy for the next five years."

—BRYNN KOTKE in Toronto

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Reports from outer space

At first, arranging for photographs of the damaged Chernobyl nuclear reactor proved a nightmare for Western journalists. Following last April's disaster at the Soviet nuclear station, officials in Moscow declared the area off-limits to re-

ports. As a result, some editors in the West turned to a significant new source of public information on nuclear matters: commercial surveillance satellites. The media's first pictures of the smoldering Chernobyl reactor came from the U.S. Earth Observation Satellite (EOSAT) and France's Systeme Parabolique d'Observation de la Terre (SPOT), a joint venture with Belgium and Sweden. Both satellites provide clear images of the earth from orbits of about 900 miles above the earth. The process proved so successful that a committee of the U.S. Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) is studying the concept of an independent, well-funded satellite. The purpose of the so-called *satwatch* is to improve photo coverage of news events. Noted one observer, Republican Representative Robert Walker, "You can cover wars in South Africa using remote sensing technology, and



Satellite image of Soviet shipbuilding: controversial and tantalizing news technology

photographs from the electronic data at a cost of between \$550 and \$750, depending on the detail and scale. Clearly the two satellites supply information to such customers as mining and forestry companies, oil-exploration firms and urban planners. And regular, systematic use of satellite information would drastically improve news coverage in strategically sensitive or remote areas, according to ABC News assignment director and RTNDA committee chairman Mark Bender.

But scientists say that if they believe development and launch of a *satwatch* may take years. Meanwhile, although American satellites operating the existing surveillance service will sell their photographs to news outlets, journalists are still unhappy about current restrictions on satellite use. Washington favored the commercial exploitation of space surveillance in 1984 by awarding a \$250-million con-

tract to build new satellites to a joint-venture company formed by RCA Corp. and Hughes Aircraft Co. In addition, the government transferred the Landsat system to the new company. But U.S. government officials stipulated that in a national security emergency the government could resume control over the system.

By law, the U.S. secretaries of commerce and transportation can also withhold satellite and space launch licenses in the interests of national security. Complained parliament Joe Thorsen: "Everyone is for the press using satellite images of forest fires or volcanic eruptions. But if it comes down to where the U.S. aircraft carriers are off the coast of Libya, the Pentagon gets upset."

Now, the companies controlling the EOSAT and SPOT satellites have begun to trade in space-based images of almost any point on earth, regardless of its strategic importance. The French operators of SPOT, for one, are not bound by Pentagon restrictions on satellite images. Staff David S. Javlin, vice-president for sales and marketing of SPOT Image Corp., "We will provide any image of anything in the world to anybody who can pay the commercial rate."

But Javlin maintains that his company does not use "a spy satellite for hire"—and does not possess the advanced equipment available to military satellite operators.

Still, most specialists agree that the commercial exploitation of space will eventually result in the media gaining access to even more sophisticated satellite surveillance technology. Declared CIA director William J. Casey, "I don't think there is anything we're doing about it."

Recent information reaching news agencies from surveillance satellites has been both dramatic and newsworthy. One such satellite orbit provided images of a new submarine base that the Soviet Union is building on the Arctic Ocean. In that instance, Soviet authorities had to endorse scrutiny of a military project, but some experts say that both the Soviet Union and the United States possess antisatellite weapons capable of destroying armed reconnaissance satellites owned by countries that compromise strategic information. Referring to the media, RTNDA assistant Peter Glaser predicted, "They might find their satellites mysteriously disabled."

—WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington



Marianne and infant daughter die of blood transfusions through the umbilical cord

MEDICINE

Surgery for the unborn

Last January, when Elisabeth Merzmann learned that she was pregnant, she knew that she was almost certain to miscarry unless she sought help. During the past four years the 30-year-old Cleveland, Ohio, specialist in bearing defects had not three babies because of a condition that occurs when a woman develops antibodies to an inherited characteristic of red blood cells known as the Rh factor. And when those antibodies pass through the placenta and enter the fetal bloodstream, they cause a life-threatening immune reaction in the infant's body. But recent medical advances that have dramatically increased unborn children's chances of survival prompted Merzmann, even before her pregnancy was confirmed, to seek treatment in Winnipeg, one of the leading centers in the rapidly growing field of fetal therapy. The result: Merzmann delivered a baby girl in a Winnipeg hospital last June. It—the first infant in Canada ever to receive four direct blood transfusions while still in the womb.

Jennifer Merzmann was 11 weeks premature at birth and needed blood and heart surgery and four months of hospital care before she and her mother could return to Cleveland last month. But her continuing survival is an encouraging sign for the 615 per cent of infants at risk because their bloodstreams have Rh factors incompatible with those of their mothers. Indeed, Winnipeg pediatrician Dr. John

Bowman says that transfusing blood containing a compatible Rh factor directly into the umbilical cord may soon eliminate that threat to unborn infants. Bowman is the medical director of the city's Rh Laboratory, a pioneer in techniques that have helped to reduce the infant mortality rate from Rh disorders to its current level of 25 per cent from 16 per cent in 1965. And as a member of a laboratory medical team that included surgeon Frank Manning and ultrasound specialist Christopher Harnan, Bowman has helped administer successful fetal transfusions to two other infants suffering from this blood disorder.

Certainly, medical treatment before birth is becoming increasingly common as doctors at U.S. medical centers in five countries—including Canada, the United States and Britain—resort to a range of revolutionary techniques. They include the use of long needles to drain fluid buildup from the brain and to clear blocked urinary tracts. One of the leaders in the field, San Francisco pediatric surgeon Michael Harrison, began his work with animal experiments eight years ago. His aim was to refine a radical procedure that would allow him to perform a caesarean section, separate the fetus and then return the unborn patient to the womb. Since then, Harrison has performed three such operations on unborn infants to correct bladder defects. Two of the tiny patients died after surgery—one because the operation was per-



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formed too late to prevent lung and liver damage and the other because of complications from another birth defect. But the third patient is still alive. A Texas baby whose parents requested that he be publicly identified only as Mitchell, he celebrated his first birthday in September—14 months after the life-saving operation on July 22, 1988.

Despite that success, some surgeons in the field question the usefulness of certain types of fetal intervention. One of them, Denver, Colo., obstetrician Dr. William Clewell, performed one of the first fetal operations to relieve hydrocephalus, or water buildup on the brain, five years ago—only one day after Harrison completed a similar procedure on a blooded urinary tract. But Clewell notes that two-thirds of the 45 infants who have undergone surgery for hydrocephalus have been born mildly or severely retarded. Said Clewell: "Doctors and parents have to weigh the option of terminating a pregnancy when the fetus is hydrocephalic or performing risky surgery that may only result in a severely handicapped child."

For his part, Harrison said that most pediatric defects are best treated after birth. But he noted that some malformations can destroy the kidney, heart, lung, brain and other organs long before an induced delivery is possible. And he supposed that implanting draining devices, known as shunts, or open surgery might benefit some infants suffering from herniated diaphragms, hydrocephalus or blocked urinary tracts. In this case, Harrison pulled Mitchell, pouring out of his mother's body when he was a 20-week-old fetus, the surgeon repaired the blooded urinary tract in a three-minute operation, returned the fetus to the womb and sewed up its eight-inch cut across the mother's abdomen. Nine weeks later Mitchell was born by a second cesarean section made through the same cut.

Despite some setbacks, the new developments in fetal care offer the promise of better medical care for all unborn infants because of the improved access they provide. For one thing, a search for chromosome deficiencies, which normally requires technicians to spend up to 16 days analyzing amniotic fluid drawn from the womb, can now be completed within 48 hours with samples obtained directly from the fetus bloodstream. And to their parents, Jennifer Harrison and Mitchell offer convincing proof of fetal therapy's value. Without it they would not have survived.

—MALCOLM GLAY with DAVID HAYES in Winnipeg



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HEALTH

Weight loss without risk

Fast-acting weight-loss plans have been a preoccupation of Canadians and Americans alike since the Indiana-based Medford Johnson Co. introduced the Metrolite diet of liquid meal replacements in 1959. Indeed, Dr. Herman Tarnower's Scarsdale diet was on *The New York Times* best-seller list for most of 1981. But now many experts say diets being up to 20 per cent overweight pose less of a health hazard than the ill effects that often accompany constant dieting. In addition, last month the Chicago-based American Dietetic Association (ADA), a professional organization of dietitians, released a set of guidelines that incorporate weight-loss recommendations with a basic disease-prevention regimen. Included in the guidelines are increased caloric consumption with such foods as low-fat dairy products, oat-rich, high-fiber foods, regular exercise, and no tobacco products.

Many experts say that weight loss achieved through dieting alone is usually temporary. Among those is University of Toronto psychologist Janet Polivy, who with her husband and colleague C. Peter Herman spent 13 years studying a variety of diets for their 1983 book, *Breaking the Diet Habit*. Polivy says that the body reacts to reduced food intake by lowering its rate of metabolism in an attempt to maintain weight. And not only do as many as 95 per cent of all dieters regain their lost weight within two years, but according to Polivy rapid weight loss could cause such problems as gallstones and heart disease. In extreme cases, an obsessive desire to lose weight can lead to such disorders as anorexia nervosa and imposed starvation.

Still, many experts are uncertain whether weight-loss-oriented North Americans will switch their allegiance from crash and fad diets to ADA guidelines. Said Toronto psychiatric social worker Nita Danesh-Lavine, who specializes in eating disorders, "Behavior takes time to change, and people trying to lose weight want instant gratification." But according to Polivy, specially designed fitter diets and tighter standards may come at a high price—future health problems.

—NORLA STEINBERG with NICK MOSELEY in Toronto

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CONSUMERISM

Confusion in stereo

The consumer, the proliferation of new, increasingly sophisticated—but in many cases incompatible—stereo systems presents a baffling set of choices. In recent years home audio equipment has expanded far beyond the long-playing record and audio cassette to a new range of sophisticated components. Laser-read compact discs (CDs) are already well established in the marketplace, and another technological innovation, digital audio tape (DAT)—enable in home cassette decks and recorders—is due for introduction as early as next year. The new systems appeal to many audiophiles because of the improved quality of recordings and sound reproduction that they provide. Indeed, U.S. and Canadian consumers have purchased more than two million CD players since their introduction in 1979—and recording industry analysts predict that the Canadian market alone will account for another 300,000 sales this year. But now some officials are expressing concern that the addition of DAT to the audio marketplace will only confuse consumers, prompting many of them to delay purchases of any new stereo equipment until it becomes clear which format will survive.

The record producers, who now issue new recordings in three formats—LPs, standard cassettes and CDs—the prospect of introducing yet another format, DAT, is not entirely welcome. As well, the producers have worried ever since that DAT will be used illegally to make perfect copies of copyrighted recordings. Like CDs, DATs promise distortion-free sound reproduction comparable to live performances. But unlike CDs, the new tape format will have the capacity to record. That has led to fears among record label executives that the already severe problem of illegal copying of music on conventional audiotapes will soon be a result of these concerns, members of the International Federation of Phonogram and Videogram Producers, which represents 600 music recording companies worldwide, have arranged a December meeting with member companies of the Electronics Industry Association of Japan. Their intent, to convince the association—which is spearheading development of DAT—is delay introduction of the new tapes.

But although Japanese electronics

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manufacturers have expressed sympathy for the recording industry's concerns, they remain committed to the new format. It will use cassettes half the size of current audio cassettes, but each will be capable of recording two hours of programming, compared to the standard 90-minute length for current cassettes and 75 minutes for CDs. Proponents of new technology say that its small size is better suited for use in portable stereos and in car systems. Prices for digital audio tape recorders will be high at first—at least \$1,500. But, analysts say, mass production would lower the prices dramatically, just as it has for compact disc players, which also cost \$1,500 when introduced and now sell for as little as \$350.

During a visit to Toronto last month, Kazuo Okuma, assistant general manager for portable audio systems for the Sony Corporation of Japan, predicted that tape recorders will supplant conventional cassette tape recorders within 10 years. But other industry analysts are less certain. Said Andrew Marshall, editor of the Toronto-based consumer magazine *Audio Video Guide*: "CD will dominate the delivery of prerecorded music in the early 1990s. I don't think tape will take over, but it will gain strength." The confidence in the audio industry has a precedent in home video recorder



Okuma: sophisticated new technology

sales. The various manufacturers of video recording equipment introduced two mutually incompatible formats of videotape recorders in the late 1970s, VHS and Beta. A consumer who buys a VHS video recorder cannot use it to play Beta-format tapes, and vice versa. But in recent years VHS has emerged as the dominant format for recorders and tapes, and only one in six video cassette recorders now sold is a Beta machine.

Now the battle of audio formats offers collectors of old-fashioned vinyl records the unpleasant prospect of seeing their LP libraries become obsolete. Bulkier eight-track audio cassettes introduced in the 1960s have now almost disappeared from the marketplace, in large part because of poor-quality sound reproductions. Now, some experts are predicting the same fate for recordings. As a result, many consumers are becoming wary of innovations. Said Allen Luft, editor of Toronto's *Sound & Vision* magazine: "Consumers are a little reluctant to come around, given the industry's record." Indeed, although DAT may be available in the near future, buyer confusion over competing technologies will likely slow the introduction of any more new formats to follow it.

—DAVID TORRES in Toronto

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THEATRE

New York's cavalcade of the stage

During the past few seasons, the good news for New York's troubled theatres has often come from London. Such big West End London hits as *Cats* and *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* have flourished since

that he is worthy. To help convince them, his aunt, Maria, the Duchess of Deas (June Connell), turns him in the ways of the aristocracy, which means that he must abandon his Cockney girlfriend, Sally Smith

other of the season's highlights, *Simon Gray's* brilliant and biting new drama, *The Conscious Pursuit*. Now playing at Broadway's Promenade Theatre, it is a British *Big Cat*, crumpling 20 years as the lives of its Cambridge University undergraduates. The characters first meet in the 1960s in the college rooms of the witty Stuart Thorne (Krisopher Talbot) to launch an ideological literary magazine. The *Conscious Pursuit* draws to Thorne like planets around the sun are an assortment of scapular Martin Hargrove (Michael Cooney), an aspiring millionaire, Humphrey Taylor (Peter Friedman), a flaky philosopher-poet, Peter Whitworth (Dylan Baker), a short-changing snit, and Nick Fencham (Nicholas Lane), whose two obsessions—chasing women and becoming a celebrated critic—impel him to a life that ends in self-destruction.

Over the next 20 years the rogues' fortunes rise and fall. One of the friends cocktails another, a third commits a bloody suicide. What makes it all work, aside from the crackling wit and superb acting, is the empathy Gray (author of *Shabby and Obscene*) builds for his troubled characters. And he does it with a grand historical flourish.

Although British creativity is strongly in evidence, some of this season's New York successes are homegrown. One of the more unusual—and emblematic—is the drummer-cum-writer's play *Written* by John Patrick Shanley and playing off-Broadway at the Double Edge Theatre, the piece is a surrealistic psychodrama sprinkled with comedy and scintillating, jolting talk. Tenney (Scott Rudin) is a would-be actor, has retreated into social catacombs while he resolves his problems with women. He has thrown out his girl-



McKee in *Lady Day*. Her role addition, a last elegant appearance

(Maryann Plunkett). But Shanley refuses to give her up.

The success of *Me and My Girl* is largely the result of the talented cast, especially Lindsay. In addition to being a superb comic and romantic actor, he demonstrates a commendable appreciation for Britain's song-and-dance musical traditions. That performance, together with the show's sparkling choreography and elaborate sets, make *Me and My Girl* everything a musical comedy should be.

The English invasion has yielded as

COURTESY OF THEATRE WORKS

friend, Donna (Anne O'Leary), and bedded her 19-year-old sister. The setting is occasionally oversteered and the script is at times needlessly verbose. But the play's wit, passion and poetry are always maintaining its curthy edge. (Includes the heroine's father, known only as Dad [Graham Baker], warning Tammy, "God is bigger and more rotten than you know.")

Another American play, *The Girl*, is a provocative take set in the whitehouse of a small town in the Midwest. Written by Caroline Kana, the drama—at the Circle Repertory Company theatre—is about the humanity that, relatively debauched people manage to preserve. Demi Moore, star of such movies as *St. Elmo's Fire* and *About Last Night*, makes her stage debut as Lily, the new girl in town's besuicible heroine. A naive 16-year-old single mother, she arrives in an innocent yellow summer dress, planning to stay only until she has made \$20,000 to support herself and her child. She becomes what her hometown calls "the early girl," who arrives without daytime clients.

Like Lana's first other girls, Lily's sense of worth soon depends on her demeaning job, especially when she becomes Lana's most-requested employee. By the time she makes her \$20,000, she has become an ambitious, competitive professional, reluctant to leave. But the house's other inhabitants are determined that she have a better life than them, and they threaten to quit if Lana does not fire her. The ingenious Moore is well-suited to her part, although she exaggerates Lily's character transformation. Still, plus-wright Kana has created an engaging story, free of breath-drama cliché.

One of the more powerful sources of creativity in modern American theatre stems from black experience. Among such recent successes as *Boyz n the City*, *Boyz n the Hood* and *Memoirs of a Black Man in America's Bar and Grill*, a one-woman show at the Westside Arts Theater. The play brings to life the journey of black jazz singer Billie Holiday who, after a life racked by alcohol, heroin, addiction, rape, prostitution, prison and racial discrimination, died a sorrowful death at 34 that cut short a brilliant career.

Film star Laurence Fishburne (*Boyz n the Hood*, *The Color Purple*) recreates one of Holiday's last desperate per-

formances at a small club in South Philadelphia four months before her death in 1959. But Loner Robertson's play is much more than a tribute to her music. Between *Early Day's* 15 songs, the elegant Miller—whose forceful, wide-ranging voice is quite unlike Holiday's—exchanges disjointed reminiscences, boisterous moments of pain and paranoia with band leader Jimmy Fosses (Dany



Phibbs and Lindsay: what a comedy should be

lio) tries to escape his racial identity, throwing away his Afro comb, his photo of 1960s black radical Stokely Carmichael and his copy of *Roots* on his. Eldridge Cleaver's authoritat of black rage.

"Being black is too emotionally taxing," the castative explains. "Therefore, I will be black only on weekends and holidays." But when it comes time to perform his Motown album by The Temptations, the determination to white-face his identity regrettably wavers.

The new Broadway season has also dialed several heavy casualties. Two expensive musicals, *Boyz n the Hood* and *Ragtime*, have already flopped. But waiting in the wings are more potential hits. *Swing*, a musical about beauty contests by Marvin Hamlisch, begins previews this week. *Brooklyn South*, the final play in Neil Simon's autobiographical *Angels in America* trilogy, opens in early December. *Wild America*, a adaptation by Michael Frayn (*Shakespeare in Love*), of Anton Chekhov's *Platonov*, starring Ian McKellen, opens before Christmas. With such offerings to come, Broadway's moon lights seem brighter this fall than they have been for some time.

LARRY BLACK, BOB HARRINGTON, MIKE MEYER and JOE THEIN in New York City

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *H. A. Hays* (1)
- 2 *The Princess of Love, Moore* (1)
- 3 *Hot Steam Rising, Coney* (1)
- 4 *Whirlwind, Coney* (1)
- 5 *Wonderland, Scott* (1)
- 6 *The Telling of Love, Fidelity* (1)
- 7 *A History of Hays, Archer* (1)
- 8 *A Perfect Day, Le Carré* (1)
- 9 *Art of War, Bradford* (1)
- 10 *Hollywood Husbands, Collins* (1)

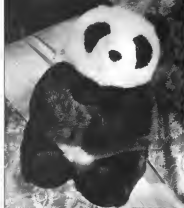
Nonfiction

- 1 *The Encyclopedia, Derry* (1)
- 2 *Vibes, Hays* (1)
- 3 *Fatherhood, Coney* (1)
- 4 *His Way, The Uncharacterized Biography of Frank Sinatra, Archer* (1)
- 5 *Memories, Le Carré* (1)
- 6 *Confessions of a Man Who Wasn't a Man, Fidelity* (1)
- 7 *James Horrocks Day Stories, Hays* (1)
- 8 *Fit for Life, Diamond and Diamond* (1)
- 9 *Both My Husbands, From Politics to Priesthood, O'Sullivan with McQuinn* (1)
- 10 *Capital Offenses by Rick Stone Dark Sun, Fidelity* (1)

(1) Fiction first week

—Compiled by Frances McNulty

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Randy talk for a snoozing public

By Allan Fotheringham

There may be hope for the Tory government after all. Despite the tux, the O-18, the movable prison and the collapsing banks, the free trade force and the "French power" issue, there may indeed be some hope. The man who said that, when you are some light at the end of the tunnel it means there is a locomotive heading your way could have been describing this Conservative regime in its early, treacherous days. But there is good news ahead. Happy days may be here again.

The signal is that a Dating Bandit has been found within the sterile confines of the Prime Minister's Office.

This is the best news for Mr. Mulroney since they yanked back the moon and discovered John Fraser. The suggestion, by some certifiably female members of the Ottawa Press Gallery, that the Bandit has been offering a squeeze for a quid is a godsend for a government that is floundering in the fierce popularity polls. The Bandit vehemently denies the allegations. But Mulroney should reverse that position, because it may be the biggest single stroke of fortune that his government has enjoyed. If there is anything that can erode the attention of a snoozing public, it is a reminder that a government that is feeble/probe is at least noisy.

If you do recall, the high points of interest in this government have come in caution periods. Newspaper circulation soared when poor old Bob Galois was accused of discussing more than brain research with a whom in a bistro on the edge of the Black Forest. Coates, lumbered with the responsibility of keeping us free from nuclear peril with a destroyer fleet that couldn't sink the U.C. ferry system, disappeared from cabinet faster than a speeding maelstrom.

At the moment, the longest-running soap opera in Canadian life, threatening the tenure of *As the World Turns*, is the drama as to what Sine and Steven Stevens discussed on their pillow before midnight. Mrs. Stevens maintains that Allan Fotheringham is a coherent journalist.

their amorous hours were spent discussing such erudite items as a "Christ ome" to commemorate the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Jesus. The underlying motive was not Christianity but profit, and there is no surprise that the "Nation," no newsmonger in that field, found the project "baffling," according to Toronto's Secret Cardinal Corrie.

This has thrown most of the marriage pillows in Canada into a tizzy. Mrs. Stevens has testified, before the judicial inquiry investigating conflict-of-interest suggestions about her husband, that while he was a Maloney minister they

had, to move in and commandeer the headlines. We can rest assured that the Dating Bandit—suchname young ladies in the Press Gallery rushing forward to remember yet another boring place—is going to take over Question Period from the portable penitentiary.

Times, possibly because of their broad underwear, have a predilection toward public sex. The Prime Minister, with only the above three examples staining his escutcheon in low years in office, should feel proud. His political personality has a fine tradition in this particular field. Our tame Tories are satisfied

with glimpses of naughtiness. Their superior at Westminster, on the other hand, like their sex bold and brazen. They were brought down from office by two dukes, Christine Keeler and Mandy Rice-Davies, their testimony involving cabinet minister John Profumo and the revelations about the booze parties at Cliveden, one of the stately homes of England, where a feature was—swinging from the chandelier—a naked man wearing only a Lone Ranger mask which was meant to, oh yes, but didn't quite manage, a famous Hollywood star of yesterday. It constantly use him at Westminster cocktail parties.

Mrs. Thatcher, she of Bechtel-Mits coffee and discipline to match, has in recent years had to dispatch her furored left-apparent, not because he had a mistress but because he posed a cad when he impregnated her and engaged in a promise to marry her. Only too recently, her septuagenary image-maker was forced to resign when, in the initiation of one of his own novels, he bribed some round-headed man to leave the country, not counting on the fact that her having bones was wired for sound.

The perk to all this is that Liberals never get involved in sex. The closest they ever came is when John Diefenbaker detected horses on the payroll at Petawawa. The Tories of Maloney, the Mr. from Winnipeg, weren't going anywhere in the Commons when they were run by Erik Nielsen, whose horrid sisters is selling her misadventure. I think the Dating Bandit, with his obvious charms, may jiggle this government back into force.



did not—unlike most couples—discuss the weather while in their side hours. They discussed, she says, such sensual items as strip bonds, whatever they are. This has caused a run on the love shops of the nation by otherwise contented accountants trying to find some Bay Street conversational item that will pep up their life beyond the sheets.

Noreen and Sine have redoubled the whole manner on keeping what the rage in your marriage. As she told the inquiry, other couples have other hobbies, but she and Sine liked to toss around concepts like strip bonds and applications of different financial transactions and things like that. These What-ever turn you on. If a Christ ome can turn your mark, don't knock it. Dr. Alex Comfort and *The Joy of Sex* may be put out of business if Bay Street moves in.

This is where the Dating Bandit comes in handy. To rescue a government gets dull and ponderous, what is needed is Mr. Coates and the stripper, or Noreen and Sine stripping their

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